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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

AN ANALYSIS OF SPORT AS A VEHICLE OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION

by

© Garry J. Smith

A THESIS
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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "An Analysis of Sport as a Vehicle of Social Integration" submitted by Garry J. Smith in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Physical Education.

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ABSTRACT

This study was guided by two interrelated central purposes: to investigate the purported social integration function of sport; and to explore the relationships between certain social characteristics (sex, age, SES) and the way in which individuals are associated with sport.

Various ways of associating with sport were examined under the broad headings; awareness of sport, interest in sport and involvement in sport. Subsumed under awareness of sport were categories such as; personal definitions of sport and a determination of sport saliency. In the sports interest section, there were items pertaining to sport team loyalties, sport hero worship, and the degree to which respondents considered themselves to be sports fans. Three types of sport involvement were considered: primary involvement (actual physical participation); secondary involvement (attendance at sports events); and tertiary involvement (vicarious involvement in sport through the mass media and through sports conversations).

The other key variable, social integration, was measured in two ways: by an alienation scale, a low level of alienation denoting a high degree of social integration, and by the number of organizations belonged to.

The data was collected in personal interview sessions with 164 residents of Edmonton, Alberta. The research

instrument was a 114 item questionnaire designed to assess dimensions of sport association such as; sport saliency, sport team loyalties, sport hero worship, and the frequency of sports conversations. In addition there were questions which sought basic demographic information.

The sample was drawn such that there were approximately equal numbers of males and females and there was close to equal representation from all socioeconomic categories. In addition, there was an attempt to include a wide distribution of age levels in the sample. Adults (those over 18) were selected from sampling clusters representing upper, middle and lower class neighborhoods. Adolescents (those aged 18 and under) were randomly selected from schools which serviced the census tracts from which the adult sample was drawn.

The findings of this study demonstrated that an association with sport was closely related to such social characteristics as sex, age and socioeconomic status. In general it was male respondents, younger respondents and upper socioeconomic status respondents who had the closest association with sport. Significant differences were found between the sexes with respect to: personal definitions of the word "sport"; sport saliency score; the degree to which respondents considered themselves to be sports fans; their choice of a favorite spectator sport; their frequency of using the mass media as a source of sports information; and the frequency of their sports conversations in various situational contexts.

There were significant age differences with respect to the following dependent variables: personal definitions of the word "sport"; sport saliency score; the degree to which respondents considered themselves to be sports fans; the likelihood of a respondent selecting a sports hero; frequency sports participation, frequency of attendance at sports events; frequency of watching sports on TV; and frequency of talking about sports with friends.

There were significant differences in socioeconomic status with respect to the following dependent variables: choice of favorite spectator sport; frequency of sports participation; choice of favorite participant sport; frequency of using newspapers and magazines for sports information; and frequency of sports conversation.

Neither of the two social integration measures were found to be significant predictors of sport association; however, it was felt that sport had the potential to be socially integrative because it provides a common interest for large numbers of people. There was also considerable support for Edwards' (1973) hypothesis which states: the greater the individual's involvement in instrumental pursuits, the greater the interest in sport. It was concluded that sport had more of an integrative function for those people who were actively engaged in instrumental pursuits in their daily lives; specifically, males and members of the middle and upper social strata.

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CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Durkheim (1964) has stated that the continuity of society requires that there be some type of solidarity and integration amongst and between its members. This solidarity and integration of society is developed through the interaction and cooperation of its members. Sport is thought to have import in this connection; through symbolism, ritual, and ceremony, sport theoretically provides a common ground for interaction and creates a sense of belongingness for individual members of society.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study examines the influence of various social characteristics on, ultimately, the extent to which sport has an integration function in society. There appears to be a common belief both in physical education and sociology that sport is a social integrator (Stone, 1969) (Bouet, 1969) (Loy and Kenyon, 1969) (Luschen, 1970) (Edwards, 1973). However, except for Stone's (1969, 1970) data, which demonstrate that the integrative power of sport is dependent on characteristics such as age, sex and socioeconomic status, there has been little research on this question. So while the belief that sport is a social integrator seems to have assumed the status of a sociological law, the veracity of this belief has not been thoroughly tested.

The major problem of the present study is to determine whether, and to what extent, sport actually has this social integration function. Further, if sport does appear to have this function, does it affect all types of people equally: that is, does sport integrate females, blue-collar workers, and illiterates to the same extent that it integrates males, corporate executives and those who are well educated? A further question is this: if sport does serve an integrative function, how does this process take place? In essence, this study seeks to provide insight into sport's purported integrative function through an analysis of how individuals associate with sport.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

This study utilizes a survey research design, involving personal interviews with randomly selected Edmontonians, to determine how social characteristics (primarily age, sex and socioeconomic status) influence the way that the individual associates with sport, and hence influence the individual's level of social integration.

Respondents were questioned on their various attitudes and behavioral dispositions toward sport. Three sets of variables denoted different ways of associating with sport. These sets of variables come under the headings "awareness of sport", "interest in sport" and "involvement in sport". For the purpose of clarification, the different ways of associating with sport are outlined in greater detail in Figure 1.

The social characteristics, age, sex and socio-economic status, are the major independent variables and they are analyzed in terms of their relationships with the sport association variables (Figure 1) which are treated as dependent variables. A further analysis is made concerning the relationships between the sport association variables and social integration variables; however, in this case the dependent and independent status of the variables is not clear. It may be that an association with sport helps to increase social integration, or it may be that only those who are already socially integrated are attracted to sport.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

The following statement indicates how pervasive the phenomenon of sport is in our society:

> Sport not only represents microcosms of society--divisions of labor, codes of ethics, government, ideologies, myths, religious practices and so forth--but it also helps determine the structure of society. Within the social matrix, sport may be recognized as a locus for man's group feelings, identity, mobility, integration, assimilation and diffusion (Miller and Russell, 1971, p. 49).

It would seem that by studying sport one can gain insight into the structure and organization of society. The sociology of sport is at an incipient stage of development; the area abounds with unexamined assumptions. This is most evident in the writings which relate to the social functions of sport.

Figure 1

Types of Association with the Institution of Sport

Name of Variable Sets	Variables Included in Set
Sport Awareness	-Respondents' personal definitions of sport -Activities that respondents consider to be sports -"Sports saliency" (an individual's general sports knowledge based on a six-item quiz)
Sport Interest	-Sports team loyalties -Sports hero worship -Degree of being a sports fan
Sport Involvement	-Primary involvement (physical participation in sport) -Secondary involvement (attendance at sports events) -Tertiary involvement (involvement in sport through the mass media and through conversations)

There has been a great deal of conjecture as to what these functions might be, but there has been a paucity of empirical data with which to confirm these speculations.

This study can be justified on the following grounds:

1. Empirical data are needed to help close some of the large gaps which exist in the sociology of sport area.
2. There is a particular need for Canadian data. Nearly all of the existing sport sociology research has originated in Europe, Japan and the United States.
3. Stone's research has been acclaimed by sport sociologists, but it has never been followed up; there is a need for some replication of Stone's work to determine if his findings are generalizable or specific to his locale.
4. The concept of the sports hero has received little scientific analysis.
5. There has been a dearth of research relating to the way in which people get sports information from the mass media.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter 2 discusses related aspects of the problem, beginning with a brief analysis of the historical development of sport sociology, followed by an analysis of some current usages of the word sport, together with an explanation of the social structure of sport, and an examination of why sport is considered to be an institution. In addition, there is a consideration of the functions of sport in society and a determination of how functional analysis can be applied to sport.

Chapter 3 is a survey of the literature which provides background information on the concept of social integration and the ways in which sport may, or is thought to, contribute to social integration. Other areas also considered are: the socialization of the sports fan; how the sport social system links with other social systems through symbols, rituals, ceremonies and hero worship; how the mass media and sport social systems work in conjunction to promote social integration; and how important independent variables such as sex, age and socioeconomic status are thought to be related to sport association.

Chapter 4 presents the hypotheses which are being tested, the methods used in selecting the sample and conducting the survey, and a description of the statistical procedures used in the data analysis. Also contained in Chapter 4 is a list of the limitations and delimitations of the study, as well as a list of operational definitions.

Chapter 5 features a statistical analysis of the data for the purpose of testing the hypotheses, while Chapter 6 focuses on a discussion of how the findings relate to the stated hypotheses, and to existing sport sociology theory.

The summary and conclusions are presented in Chapter

7 along with some of the ramifications that are indicated by these results. Recommendations are also offered which outline apparent avenues of future research.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CURRENT STATUS OF SPORT SOCIOLOGY

A concern for the personal and interpersonal aspects of sport emerged as a separate sub-discipline in physical education departments in the mid-1960's. This subject area was labelled sport sociology. The relatively recent arrival of sport sociology in universities can be traced to the historical development of both physical education and sociology. Since its inception, physical education research has been closely aligned with the medical sciences. The early leaders of physical education were men with medical degrees, for example, Hitchcock, Sargeant, Hartwell, McKenzie, and Gulick (Lee and Bennett, 1960). This medical science influence in physical education meant that the body was treated like a machine and therefore subject to mechanical laws. Applied, quantifiable studies relating to human movement became the main area of interest in physical education research. The chief areas of concern in physical education research have been cardiovascular studies, strength testing, developing fitness norms and classification indexes (Van Dalen and Mitchell, 1953). This situation has changed somewhat in recent years as areas like sport psychology, sport history and sport sociology have gained prominence; however, there is still a major emphasis on physical-fitness research in physical education.

The alignment of physical education with medicine was an important determinant in physical education being accepted in an academic setting. Physical education sought entry into an environment dominated by such educational philosophies as Cartesianism and rationalism, which classified the mental as being superior to the physical. Thus, one means of accomplishing this entry was to combine with a prestigious academic discipline like medicine.

At the same time sociology was seeking to establish its own identity as an academic discipline. Much of the early work in sociology consisted of insights and opinions derived from the author's personal experience. The absence of an empirical approach to research left sociology vulnerable to the criticisms of more traditional disciplines.[1]

Thus, when both physical education and sociology were emergent disciplines, there was often a need to justify their presence in an academic institution. This defensiveness on the part of both physical education and sociology in their formative years was manifested in attempts to make research more empirical. Despite the fact that there appear to be some areas of mutual concern, there was very little interdisciplinary research between sociology and physical education in the early years of their development (Loy and Kenyon, 1969).

---

[1] Subject areas such as physics, chemistry, and mathematics have relatively precise ways of measuring the phenomena they deal with. Comparatively speaking, sociology is necessarily a more inexact discipline because it studies humans rather than objects or abstractions. Consequently measurement techniques are less refined and there are often numerous variables operating in research situations which cannot be controlled.

Now that both disciplines have established academic status, some physical educators have sought ways of incorporating sociological methods and theory into the study of human movement.

Currently the majority of sport sociology courses are taught in physical education rather than sociology departments. This is perhaps more an indication that sociologists have placed a low priority on the study of sport, rather than that physical educators have a special expertise in the area. Sage (1970) outlines what he thinks is the sociologist's outlook toward the study of sport:

> Sociologists have shown great disdain for studying sports. It is true that this discipline has only recently established itself as a truly distinct subject; nevertheless, the systematic study of sports has not appeared as a prominent topic for sociological investigation. Although sports take place in social settings; and sports have profound influence in the socializing process, sociologists apparently find other social phenomena more interesting to study (p. v).

Edwards (1973) also comments on the lack of involvement in sport by sociologists:

> Among sociologists, the meager scientific interest in sport has been particulary conspicuous. Along with the pervasive "antiphysical" bias affecting the thrust of Western scholarship, sociologists have in addition for decades harbored professional insecurities stemming

> from the designation of sociology as a "soft science" (in contrast to the "hard sciences" of physics, chemistry, medicine, engineering, and so forth). This has further heightened the desire to avoid involvement with anything that detracted from the intellectual credibility of the discipline (p. 7).

By default, then, the study of sport in society has fallen largely to physical educators. Cowell (1960) was one of the first physical educators to carry out research with a social science orientation. Cowell conducted studies to determine the attitudes and interests of students in physical education, and he stressed the contributions that physical education could make to help students become socially acceptable.

Loy and Kenyon (1969) with their edited book "Sport, Culture and Society" have perhaps had the greatest impact on the sociology of sport area. This book has been used as a standard text in many university sociology of sport courses. Both authors have generated extensive research in sport sociology, and together they have been instrumental in delineating the body of knowledge for this area.

Besides Loy and Kenyon (1969) the most prominent sport sociologists in the western hemisphere have been Lüschen (1970), Schafer (1971), Stone (1969), Webb (1969), McIntosh (1963), Hoch (1972) and Edwards (1973). In the eastern hemisphere it has been Takenoshita (1967), Wohl (1967) and Erbach (1969).

Although sport sociology is in the embryonic stage, Loy and Kenyon (1969) comment optimistically about its future possibilities when they state: "With the vastness of sport today, together with its anticipated growth in the future, the potentiality of a sociology of sport becomes apparent" (p.42).

Sociologists might profit from studies that are carried out in a sport environment, because sport provides a natural setting for sociological investigation and the results can be applied to areas other than sport. For example, Lüschen (1969) claims that the sport environment is ideal "for developing theoretical propositions concerning . . . social aggregates" (p. 59). A sport team is an excellent example of a small group. As Edwards (1973) suggests:

> In sport, the presence of the social scientist does not contaminate or interfere with the character of the phenomena being studied. The spectator is a natural part of the sporting event. Thus, for the price of a ticket, the sociologist who has done his homework and knows what to look for, can gain access to a mirror reflecting the past traditions, the present turmoil, and, to a great extent, the future destiny of society (p. 364).

Inquiry into other aspects of sport may also prove beneficial for sociologists, for example, crowd behavior at mass appeal sports events; the status of minority groups in a sports context; and studies on the influence of the sports hero. Lüschen (1969) predicts that sport sociology will make a meaningful contribution to the entire field of sociology when he states: "This field [sport sociology], as

I see it, has particular potentialities to demonstrate in its realm basic sociological theory, and even to the point of developing sociological theory" (p. 2).

SOME CURRENT USAGES OF THE WORD SPORT

Loy (1969) suggests that "sport is a highly ambiguous term having different meanings for various people" (p. 56). Sport has been variously described as a diversion, an extension to play or even as "a miniature of real life" (Miller and Russell, 1971, p. 5). These differing viewpoints make it difficult to formulate clear, concise operational definitions of the word sport. Huizinga (1968) and Caillois (1961) have provided a basic framework for understanding the concepts of play and games. Loy (1969) and Edwards (1973) have built on this previous work and have come up with descriptions of sport which differentiate it from similar concepts like play, games and athletics.

Loy (1969) views play as any form of activity whose main elements are "freedom, separateness, uncertainty, unproductiveness, order and make-believe" (p. 60). Another feature of play is that the participant is motivated simply by the activity itself, rather than by some extrinsic purpose.

Games are more complex than play in that they include forms of competition, physical skill, strategy and chance. Sport, like games, includes all of the above elements but is differentiated from games in that participation in sport requires that the player demonstrate some kind of physical capability. Loy (1969) believes that sport is simply "an institutionalized game demanding the demonstration of physical prowess" (p. 62).

Loy (1969) envisages sport and games as being subsumed under the umbrella term play. All three of these concepts have certain elements in common, but sport is a highly specific and refined form of play and games.

Edwards (1973) disagrees with the way Loy associates sport with play. Edwards claims that "sports have virtually nothing in common with play" (p. 55). Edwards' analysis of sport goes further than Loy's, in that sport is seen as an activity which requires "meticulous preparation" on the part of the athlete (p. 55). The athlete, however, is somewhat divorced from the activity in terms of its intrinsic values. Also the athlete's role is somewhat confining because of the restrictions placed on his freedom by coaches, managers, judges, officials and even peers.

Edwards' (1973) definition of sport seems to be the most well-reasoned and definitive of those currently in use by sport sociologists:

> Sport is defined as involving activities having formally recorded histories and traditions, stressing physical exertion through competition within limits set in explicit and formal rules governing role and position relationships, and carried out by actors who represent

> or who are part of formally organized associations having the goal of achieving valued tangibles or intangibles through defeating opposing groups (pp. 57, 58).

Under this omnibus definition, sport could run the gamut from a low-keyed croquet tournament all the way up to a professional sports league. This study will deal with sport in terms of these kinds of extremes, consequently Edwards' definition will serve to operationally define the term sport for the purposes of this study.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SPORT

Sport can be viewed as a social structure which operates to assist in solving the recurring problems faced by society (Lüschen, 1970). Viable social structures consist of predictable, orderly, enduring relationships between social actors. The key elements in any social structure are "a plurality of actors, normative definitions, status--role expectations, and interaction between actors" (Dobriner, 1969, p. 108).

There are myriad types of social structures in sport ranging from the formalization of a tennis match to a highly developed national sports organization. No matter what the level of complexity, the units of analysis remain the same. In nearly all sport situations there is a plurality of actors, and all sports have certain standardized rules (norms) which describe what the social actors may or may not do. Some of the norms stem from official rules of the sport, while other norms are imposed by authorities such as coaches and are specific only to a particular group.

The roles and status positions of each actor are also defined by norms which outline what is acceptable or unacceptable in a given situation. For example, in football the quarterback is recognized as the formal leader of the offensive team, and on most teams there is a norm which states that only the quarterback is allowed to talk in the huddle.

Social relationships develop resulting in social interaction once an actor has internalized the norms and understands the role relationships and status hierarchy within the group. In order for the social structure to persist over time there must be "order, anticipation, and predictability" in the social relationships (Dobriner, 1969, p. 118). To use an example from the sport of baseball, it is important that the batter bunt the ball on a given signal from the third base coach; because all of the actors will be reacting in anticipation of a bunt. Failure to bunt deprives the group of structure because it violates a group norm--always adhere to the signals of the third base coach--and it has a resultant effect on the relationships and interactions of group members.

SPORT AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

Williams (1970) defines a social institution as

> . . . a set of institutional norms that cohere around a relatively distinct and socially important complex of values. The central core of an institution is a set of obligatory norms. In the fully developed case, institutional norms are: (1) widely known, accepted and applied; (2) widely enforced by strong sanctions and continuously applied; (3) based upon revered sources of authority; (4) internalized in individual personalities; (5) inculcated and strongly reinforced early in life; and (6) objects of consistent and prevalent conformity (p. 37).

Social structures exist because they perform certain societal functions; complex social structures which regulate group activities, interaction, and functions are referred to as social institutions.

Sport sociologists have recently begun to speak about the social institution of sport (Loy and Kenyon, 1969) (Edwards, 1973) (Ingham and Loy, 1973). Previously any discussion of social institutions have generally neglected sport and dealt with areas such as government, economics, education, religion and the family. Sport was either considered to be less important than these other institutions, or it was not thought of as being a true social institution.

Sport sociologists defend their categorization of sport as a social institution by alluding to definitions of social institutions, and then demonstrating how sport meets the requirements of the definition. Various sport value orientations and norms appear to be applicable to the categories listed in Williams' (1970) definition of social institutions. For example, examine what seems to be a value at the more competitive levels of sport--Vince Lombardi's statement "Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing." This value is widely known and accepted in the upper levels of sport (Scott, 1973). This value is enforced via reprisals, fines or even the threat of banishment. The value is based on revered sources of authority such as Vince Lombardi, who since his death has almost been deified. To reinforce the importance of this value you even find the President of the United States and other high-ranking government officials giving approval to this value. This value is internalized in most of the individual athletes' personalities, and better still it is a highly functional value to follow if one wants to succeed in a capitalist society. This value is inculcated early in life, as evidenced by minor league football coaches who emulate Lombardi and others of his type. There is consistent conformity to this value because it has shown that it is highly successful for preparing football teams and for surviving in a capitalist system. It would be possible to fit many other prominent sports norms or value orientations to Williams' definition.

It is also possible to demonstrate that the ubiquity of sport in North American society is such that a large percentage of people are acquainted with the sports value system. Boyle describes the tremendous impact of sport on American society when he states:

> Sport permeates any number of levels of contemporary society, and it touches upon and deeply influences such disparate elements as status, race relations, business life, automotive design, clothing styles, the concept of the hero, language, and ethical values. For better or worse it gives form and substance to much in American life (1963, pp. 3, 4).

Kenyon concurs with this appraisal when he notes:

> The cognitive world of most people includes sports. The amount of sport information made available to persons in most countries makes it almost impossible to avoid learning something about it (1969, pp. 79, 80).

Sport would then seem to meet the criteria which establish it as a social institution. Social institutions share at least one common property; they perform necessary functions which allow the society to persist through time (Poplin, 1972). If sport is an institution, what then are the functions of sport?

A Discussion of the Functions of Sport in Society

A multitude of functions have been attributed to sport. Some of the major social functions that sport supposedly performs are listed in Figure 2.

The suggestion of these functions of sport may or may not be valid; the point here is that a number of sport sociology scholars feel that sport serves one or more functions in the society, in addition to representing what is valued and revered in the society.

Edwards (1973) makes this point when he states

> . . . that any attack upon the institution of sport in a particular society would be widely interpreted

Figure 2

Postulated Functions of Sport as Contained in the Sport Sociology Literature

Supposed Function	Authors who Support those Functions
Adaptation	(Loy, 1969) (Roberts and Sutton-Smith, 1969) (Ingham and Loy, 1973)
Pattern Maintenance and Tension Management	(Lüschen, 1970) (Loy and Kenyon, 1969) (Edwards, 1973)
Catharsis	(Ball-Rokeach, 1971) (Lerner, 1968)
Immortality Rite	(Harrington, 1970)
Quest for Excitement	(Dunning, 1972)
Tranquilizer, Sedative, Opiate	(Hoch, 1972) (Lahr, 1972)
An Initiation Ceremony Which Helps Males Become Men	(Fiske, 1972) (Meggyesy, 1970)
A Mechanism Which Can Aid in the Development of Nationalism	(Shaw, 1972) (Anthony, 1970) (Hoch, 1972) (Mandell, 1971)
A Social Control Mechanism	(Schafer, 1969)
Social Integration	(Stone, 1958, 1969) (Lüschen, 1970) (Schwartz, 1971) (Beisser, 1967) (Shuttleworth, 1972)
Socialization	(Webb, 1969) (Roberts and Sutton Smith, 1969)

> (intuitively, if not explicitly) as an attack upon the fundamental way of life of that society as manifest in the value orientations it emphasizes through sport (p. 90).

In the same vein Edwards labels sport as being "a secular quasi-religious institution" that is not competing with religion but is a complement and supplement to it (p. 90). The two are not in opposition because both help to inculcate similar societal values. With this in mind it is easy to understand why sport is so often alluded to by staunch defenders of the establishment. American Vice-President Spiro Agnew when speaking at the 1972 Annual Football Awards Dinner in Birmingham, Alabama, stated:

> I believe that sport, all sport, is one of the few bits of glue that holds our society together, one of the few activities where young people can proceed along traditional lines . . . where he can learn how to win . . . and how to lose.

Similarly, counter culturists often refer to sport in their critiques of society. Hoch (1972) describes how the institution of sport is a vehicle which helps to perpetuate the status quo and how

> . . . the sports industry functioned to facilitate the smoothness of authoritarian capitalist class relations generally; how it helped socialize workers for their coglike roles on the assembly lines; how it built up a symbiotic relationship with the developing mass media industry; how sports and the media helped socialize workers to think of themselves mainly as passive consumers; how sports spread the poisons of competitiveness, elitism, sexism, nationalism, militarism, and racism--all of which have kept the international working class divided against itself (p. 12).

The functions of sport are dependent upon and related to the dominant values of society. Sport merely reflects and reinforces these dominant values. If the dominant values are seen as being humanistic, then sport will tend to be glorified as an embodiment of these values. If the dominant values are seen as repressive and dehumanizing, then sport will be regarded as contributing to this alienating situation (Hoch, 1972).

Functional Analysis as Applied to Sport

There have been very few empirical studies investigating the social functions of sport. Kenyon and Loy (1969) in their discussion of the current status of sport sociology call attention to the fact that "many of [sport's] manifest and most of its latent functions have been ignored" (p. 37). For the most part, the comments made by scholars concerning the social functions of sport have been value laden. On the one hand sport has been attacked as being dysfunctional for society by rationalists such as (Veblen, 1961, and Neatby, 1953). The common thread expressed by these critics is that sport is really a trifling, insignificant activity which occupies people's attention far more than it should. In this view, sport diverts people's attention from really important areas such as politics, economics and education.

On the other hand, the case for sport has been advanced by authors who have attested to sport's ability to develop character, discipline, the competitive urge, physical and mental fitness, a christian philosophy and nationalism (Edwards, 1973).

Unfortunately this moral debate over the virtues and functions of sport in society has done little to advance theory in sport sociology. The merit of a true functional analysis of sport is that it would avoid this type of philosophical dialogue and concentrate instead on an explanation of why sport exists. Sport does exist; therefore, it must have certain consequences for human behavior. What are these consequences?

Nearly every society seems to have something called play, and nearly every highly developed society engages in activities that are called sports. The widespread existence of these activities would indicate that they must serve some major social function. If sport did not contribute to the survival of society, one might expect that many societies and cultures would have developed without it. This is not to imply that sport has served the same functions in all societies, or that in the future sport may not prove to be dysfunctional.

Any examination of the social functions of sport must take into account the society, of which sport is only one part. It has only been recently that authors such as Hoch (1972) Scott (1973) and Edwards (1973) have examined sport from this perspective. They have not isolated sport, but have looked at it in the context of the social structure in which it is implanted.

Functional analysis is a common method of sociological inquiry; there are, however, certain weaknesses and inadequacies associated with this approach. A major problem with the functional approach in sociology is that it has been used to support what Yinger calls "the inevitability or changelessness of some specific practice or belief" (1969, p. 58). This type of orientation has led to a neglect of investigation into the dysfunctions of social institutions.

Merton (1967) mentions three interconnected postulates which have frequently been adopted by functional analysts which may in actuality be detrimental to the study of social functions:

1. The postulate of the functional unity of society--that every standardized activity or belief is functional, that is, necessary and useful for the whole system.
2. The postulate of universal functionalism--"that all standardized social or cultural forms have positive functions" (p. 84).
3. The postulate of indispensibility--"that there are certain functions which are indispensible in the sense that if they are not performed the society will not persist . . . and secondly that certain cultural and social forms are indispensible for fulfilling each of these functions" (p. 87).

Merton (1967) holds that by accepting these postulates the sociologist is disregarding potential latent functions and dysfunctions. By ignoring latent functions and dysfunctions we know only a part of the social process, for these outcomes by definition are unanticipated. To a great extent this seems to be the case when sport is studied in a sociological context; only the positive aspects of sport in a particular society are considered. Loy and Kenyon (1969) have labelled this approach to sport sociology "normative oriented." The prevailing thinking of the normative-oriented sport sociologists is paraphrased by Loy and Kenyon (1969):

> We know that sport contributes to the development of desirable personality traits and thus to wholesome communities, but what we need now is hard evidence so that we can convince others (p. 9).

The opposite position is seen in the writings of those authors who primarily attend to the latent dysfunctions of sport. For example, Shaw (1972), McMurtry (1970) and Meggyesy (1970) highlight the excesses and abuses of the sport of football, but they avoid mentioning any possible benefits which may accrue to society.

There are numerous statements in the literature which attest to the importance of functional analysis in sport sociology:

> Thus, consistent with the implicit aims of most serious sociological writers in the field, it could be profitable as an avenue of future inquiry to explicitly analyze the significance of sport in terms of its inputs and outputs relative to the functional problems of society (Edwards, 1973, p. 17).

> Everybody knows that recreational sport might help in keeping a person healthy, while spectator sport might satisfy needs of expression and aggression. Supposedly, however, sport activities have effects on the total social system in a society and these social or systems functions could be studied systematically (Allardt, 1970, p. 25).

Perhaps an addendum to these comments is required. Functional analysis in sport sociology is necessary, but only if both latent and dysfunctional processes are also examined. In order for this to occur it is important that researchers attempt to avoid making a priori assumptions about sport.

The following chapter begins with a review of the literature pertaining to a function that has frequently been attributed to sport, namely, social integration; also included in Chapter 3 is a discussion on how the sport social system links with other social systems to promote social integration.

CHAPTER 3

SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

The Concept of Social Integration

An important supposition in sociological literature is that, if a society is to survive, "every society must achieve some consensus around a set of basic values, an agreement upon ultimate meaning that affords an appropriate basis of social organization and common action" (Glock and Stark, 1965, p. 176). This consensus and agreement is usually referred to as social integration. This notion of social integration does not mean that there has to be unanimity in the society or that every individual has the same set of values. It does mean, however, that a high degree of consensus is required to keep the society from disintegrating (Dobriner, 1969).

Many authors have focused on the significance of social integration, the prevailing idea being that integration is essential for the proper functioning of society, or for that matter for the functioning of any social system (Faris, 1955) (Nisbet, 1968) (Williams, 1970).

Durkheim (1915) was among the first sociologists of note to stress the primacy of society. Durkheim's concept of "sui generis" meant that society "was a reality with its own peculiar characteristics" (p. 16). Society is ethically superior to the individual because society is a synthesis of individual values, norms and beliefs. Durkheim's (1960) classical The Division of Labor in Society was an attempt to prove that individuals could be integrated into society through the mutual interdependence of their occupational specialties.

In The Division of Labor in Society Durkheim delineated two separate types of social integration which he labelled "mechanical solidarity" and "organic solidarity". Mechanical solidarity refers to a situation where the members of a society develop a collective conscience through the acceptance of the same values and beliefs. This collective conscience enables the members of the society to cooperate successfully.

Organic solidarity is the result of each person performing a complementary specialty. Integration stems from the fact that members of a society are dependent on one another for certain goods and services. Durkheim theorized that there would be a relationship between the type of solidarity most in evidence in a society and the degree of either repressive or restitutive law. Mechanical solidarity was exhibited more in rural traditional societies, which featured repressive laws. Modern, urban societies have a need for organic solidarity and hence the laws are more restitutive.

Following from Durkheim's work in this area is an attempt by various authors to differentiate between types of social integration. For example, Landecker (1951) lists four kinds of social integration, namely, cultural, normative, communicative, and functional. Angell (1968) has taken this typology and analyzed the current state of advancement in each area. Angell feels that normative, communicative and functional integration go together to comprise social integration and that cultural integration is nearly synonymous with social integration.

Parsons (1937, 1951) claims that there is normative integration when the common values of the society are institutionalized in structural elements of the social system. Parsons strongly intimates that a high degree of normative integration is a requisite for a healthy, stable society. Other observers reject this viewpoint, claiming that deviance from social norms is often innovative, and that too much normative consensus leads to rigidity. The indication is that universal normative integration is not necessary, but that an overall high level of normative integration is required to ensure social stability.

Functional integration refers to the degree to which there is mutual interdependence among the units of a system of division of labor. As Angell (1968) notes "there is little work on the concept of functional integration and even less on its relation to other variables" (p. 383).
Merton (1967) has suggested that functional integration is

difficult to assess unless dysfunctional consequences are considered, while conflict theorist Dahrendorf (1957) argues that society is not a truly organic whole and therefore the concept of functional integration has no utility. Despite considerable theorizing there has been very little empirical research in this area.

Communicative integration is the extent to which the network of communication pervades the society (Angell, 1968). At a national level, the mass media are the primary vehicles which communicate the values, beliefs and norms to the members of society. This dimension of social integration appears to be the most fruitful in terms of empirical research. Deutsch (1953) for example, has demonstrated how communication aids in the development of nationalism.

There have only been a few major studies dealing with social integration: Angell (1951), Srole (1956), and Deutsch (1957). These authors had difficulty in standardizing the concept of social integration, and they had problems in demonstrating causal relationships.

Social integration is a key sociological concept, but perhaps it has been used in too global a sense to permit any kind of meaningful research. Angell (1968) states that there is one of two alternatives for the concept:

> Either it will fall into disuse because social scientists find the idea too broad and all encompassing for a scientific concept, or it will enlist scientific devotees who will shape it and make it useful in the development of sound theory (p. 386).

The concept of social integration has not been used extensively in empirical studies; nevertheless, there has been considerable effort directed toward the study of social integration by focusing on the antiethical concept of alienation. Sociological literature is replete with studies on alienation, in many instances alienation is defined as a lack of social integration (Schact, 1970). When alienation is mentioned here as being counter to social integration, it is thought of as "a condition of society manifested in a personal disillusion with societal institutions and processes" (McLeod, et al., 1966, p. 585).

Alienation is such a diverse concept that its use has generated much confusion. Alienation was first used in a sociological sense by Hegel, who employed it in connection with an individual being separated from society. It is Marx's use of the word alienation, however, which has had the most impact on modern day sociology. Marx (1972) saw alienation most clearly in work and in the division of labor. The industrial laborer is alienated from the product of his labor and also from the means of production. The worker thus estranged from his product is alienated from himself, because his labor is no longer his own, it is the property of someone else. The worker finally also becomes alienated from other people, because his primary method of relating to people is through the commodities that they exchange or produce.

Durkheim (1960) like Marx, also saw alienation as being an inevitable byproduct of industrialization. Durkheim used a similar term, "anomie", to refer to a condition of normlessness. The greater the industrialization and modernization, the more anomic the society. Durkheim pointed out in his celebrated Suicide study, that the high number of self-inflicted deaths in contemporary society is a manifestation of the anomie that is felt by members of society. In the same vein Simmel (1964) is critical of modern, technological societies for the routinization of labor, and the resultant impersonality and dehumanization in personal affairs. Simmel views the phenomena of "community" and "alienation" as being polar extremes.

Modern sociological writings dealing with alienation are in agreement with the idea that alienation is a common condition of industrialized societies. There is some concern, however, with the need to develop a definition of alienation such that it will be a useful conceptualization yielding testable hypotheses (Schact, 1970) (Lystad, 1972). Perhaps Seeman (1959) has done the most to clarify the meaning of alienation. He outlined five different dimensions of alienation: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement; and demonstrated how these separate dimensions were derived from traditional sociological theory.

There appears to be general agreement amongst sociologists with the components of alienation that Seeman has identified (Shepard, 1972) (Holian, 1972).

Most of the research in this area has dealt with the separation of an individual from his culture or his society. In this vein, some studies have interpreted alienation as being a lack of association with popular culture. Nettler (1955) and Middleton (1963) have attempted to discern a person's level of alienation through questions relating to involvement and interest in TV programs, movies, magazines, new cars and spectator sports. Their thesis is that a lack of interest in these aspects of popular culture is an indication of being alienated from society. A problem with this approach is the assumption that is made that the popular culture represents the fundamental values of society. It may be that a person is alienated from popular culture but not from society.

Alienation has also been examined in other ways; for example, alienation has been defined as a total rejection of societal values. Merton (1957) construes the term in this way when he speaks of "alienation from reigning goals and standards" (p. 155). Alienation in this sense would be much stronger than merely being disassociated from standards of popular culture. Another possible sign of alienation is the rejection of behavioural norms. In a Mertonian sense a person would be alienated who accepted the "culturally defined goals, purposes and interests, held out as legitimate objectives for all" (1957, pp. 32-33), but who did not proceed through accepted channels to achieve these goals.

Only a brief analysis of the concept of alienation is presented here, because only certain aspects of it are central to this study, namely, the dimensions as isolated by Seeman (1959) and the idea that a lack of association from popular culture can be used as an indicator of alienation.

It is recognized that there are many fundamental methodological problems with the concept of alienation. There is no all-encompassing definition; it seems to be more than a unitary concept; and it is seen as perhaps being too broad a term to be useful in sociological research. Despite its shortcomings, however, the concept has not been abandoned. Schact (1970) thinks that alienation is useful "as a general term, which marks out a wide range of types of dissatisfaction, disharmony and disaffection sharing the feature of deriving from or involving feelings of 'alienness of some sort'" (p. 195).

The term alienation will be employed in the general sense that Schact suggests, and will be operationally defined as previously mentioned in the same way that it was used by McLeod, et al. (1966, p. 585): ". . . a condition of society manifested in a personal disillusion with societal institutions and processes".

Sport as a Social Integrator

One of the suggested functions of sport is that of social integration. Theoretically, sport through pageantry, symbolism, ritual and ceremony aids in developing a sense of community for individual members of society (Schwartz, 1971). Sport supposedly integrates families (Cozens and Stumpf, 1953), schools (Albonico, 1967) (Coleman, 1960) (Schafer, 1971) (Talamini, 1971), communities (Ricke, 1971) (Shuttleworth, 1972) ethnic groups (Tobin, 1967) (Young, 1970), and even countries (Cozens and Stumpf, 1953) (Lüschen, 1970) (Munro, 1970) (Wohl, 1966).

The following supporting statements are typical of the sport as integrator theme:

> Communities, like schools without interscholastic games, have few common goals. They fight no wars, seldom engage in community rallies, and are rarely faced with crises as floods or tornadoes that can endanger a communal spirit and make members feel close to one another by creating collective goals. One of the few mechanisms by which this can occur is that of games or contests between communities. . . . the team is a community enterprise, and its successes are shared by the community, its losses mourned in concert (Coleman, 1961, p. 42).

> Common interests, common loyalties, common enthusiasms --those are the great integrating factors in any culture. In America, sports have provided this common denominator in as great a degree as any other single factor (Cozens and Stumpf, 1951, p. 229).

> In spectator sports, the whole country or community identifies with its representatives in a contest. Thus, sport functions as a means of integration not only for the actual participants, but also for the represented members of such a system (Lüschen, 1970, p. 94).

> The masses of Americans in the athletic stadia, watching in the grandstand, or playing on the field are performing rituals which in every respect constitute an integral part of American life, and in no way are deviant. In fact, if adjustment to prevailing institutions is taken as a criterion of mental health, one must conclude that the non-participant in sports is more likely to be disordered than is the participant (Beisser, 1967, p. 148).

> In a very real sense, sport and games are an integrating force in America's democratic institutions. They make it possible to realize all of the tenets upon which a democracy is based . . . (Ulrich, 1968, p. 114).

The previous quotes all intimate that sport is serving a positive role by helping to integrate people into society. This may be the case, but it is making a value judgment about the term integration which is counter to the value-neutral way that Williams (1970) suggests it be used. Other authors concur that sport is a social integrator which can help inculcate and reaffirm cultural values, beliefs and norms. They disagree, however, on the point that this serves a valuable function. Bend (1971) stresses the dysfunctional aspects of sport when he suggests that sport represents and instills some of the most repugnant values in North American culture. Hammerich (1971) feels that the integrative properties of games and sports have been overstressed. He also notes that there is a tendency "to call only those persons as socialized, who according to predominant beliefs are classified as well-adjusted and socially integrated" (p. 6).

Edwards (1973) has written that "sport affords the fan an opportunity to reaffirm the established values and beliefs defining acceptable means and solutions to central problems in the secular realm of everyday societal life" (p. 243). On the other hand, Edwards recounts instances where sport has not diminished racism to any significant degree, and sporting contests frequently serve as focal points for acrimonious confrontations between fans of opposing teams.

Perhaps the most vociferous critic of sport's integrative function is Paul Hoch. Hoch (1972) is aware of the integrative aspects of sport, but he feels that sport is used by capitalists to keep the working class subdued. Hoch sees sport as a tranquilizer, or in Marxian terms as an "opiate of the masses," whose chief role is to take people's minds off their problems. Using a dialectical approach Hoch demonstrates how North American sport is merely a capitalist tool which aids in continuing an unjust social system. The essence of Hoch's (1972) argument is contained in the following quote:

> Division of labor within the new mass production monopolies brought about the narrower and narrower division of productive work into less and less meaningful and creative activity. So in a situation in which workers were given less scope for creativity and decision making in production, it was only to be expected that they should seek (and be provided with) some sort of pseudo-escape and pseudo-satisfaction and pseudo-community in consumption. Sports spectacles were in the vanguard of the new consumption opiates. Participation sports for the elite was gradually readapted into spectator consumption for what was to become "the masses": a sort of opiate for the people. From the point of view of the ruling class, the sort of passive attitudes industrial workers learn in watching a baseball game serve as a useful socializer for the deadened passivity necessary to function in a capitalist factory (p. 38).

All of the aforementioned authors are of the opinion that sport has the potential to be socially integrative; however, they differ on whether or not it is desirable to be integrated into present-day North American society. The fact that sport is a social integrator has almost been accepted as an axiom by sport sociologists, yet there has been a paucity of empirical research which would verify this belief.

A case can be made for sport serving an integrative function on a grand scale. For example, the city of Montreal unified briefly when in 1970 their professional football team, the Alouettes, won the Grey Cup. According to a team member and now a member of parliament in Quebec, George Springate, winning the Grey Cup did almost as much for Montreal in bringing together the Anglo and Franco factions as did the overwhelmingly successful "Expo '67".

Virtually the same type of response was registered by the citizens of Detroit in 1968 when their baseball team won the World Series. Detroit had been wracked by racial conflict in 1967 but the tension and hatred were still smoldering in the summer of 1968. It appeared that the animosity that had existed between blacks and whites was reduced to some extent at least temporarily, as people took an interest in Detroit's pennant drive and eventual championship.

The City of Memphis is also cited here as an example of how sport apparently helped draw the populace together. Following the assassination of Martin Luther King in Memphis in 1968 there was a tremendous polarization of the races. Credit for helping to heal the racial wounds was given to the Memphis State University basketball team. The mayor of Memphis, Wyeth Chandler, stated:

> This team has unified the city like it's never been unified before. Black and white, rich and poor, old and young are caught up in its success. Memphis is a better city now thanks to the Memphis State team (Kirkpatrick, 1973, p. 25).

Sport can also serve as the focal point of integration for countries or even empires:

> Sports have been used to cement empires together. The Romans popularized chariot races and gladiatorial combat in all parts of their empire. And the British encouraged cricket and rugby throughout theirs . . . when the American army occupied Japan after World War II they started pushing Baseball. Our rulers sell their national ideology with their sports both home and abroad (Hoch, 1972, p. 88).

When Brazil won the world cup soccer championship, celebrations went on for weeks. This international victory also served to develop a strong nationalistic identity among Brazilians.

In Canada, the Report of the Task Force on Sports for Canadians (1969) has stated:

> We cannot weigh with any accuracy the contribution Canadian sports played in knitting a nation, but it must have been considerable . . . such a role for sport has continuing significance in keeping an intrinsically Canadian sense of community (p. 9).

For Canadians, the great unifyer is the sport of hockey. As broadcasting immortal Foster Hewitt has noted:

> Hockey is an important strand in the fabric of Canada, a great factor in binding the country together. Hockey addicts range from separatists to WASPs, and at least they find a common ground here (Anthony, 1970, p. 37).

It is almost undisputed that in Canada hockey is some kind of magic ritual which brings together different generations, social classes and ethnic groups. To a great extent the sport is seen as a masculinity rite which helps males to become men and at the same time aids in character development. Many of the Canadian professional hockey teams attempt to capitalize on the unifying ability of the sport through their team insignias and team nicknames.[2]

When the Canada-Russia series was held in the fall of 1972, Canadians rearranged their lives around it. An article in Time Magazine (1972) describes the community effect that the last game in the series had.

> The televised eighth game was a communal event almost without precedent in Canada. More than 16 million viewers tuned in--compared with the 7.8 million for last season's Stanley Cup play-offs and 12 million who watched the first moon landing. Business virtually came to a standstill, schoolchildren were either sent home or sat transfixed by classroom TV screens. . . . across the country, streets had a deserted Sunday morning look. During the game a determined nonfan in West Vancouver walked ten blocks to the bank without seeing a single person . . . thought we'ed been attacked by nerve gas or something he said (p. 11).

When Canada finally won this game with 34 seconds left, it was all that Canadians needed to go on a natural high for about two months.

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[2] Toronto is called the Maple Leafs; the Maple Leaf is a Canadian national symbol. Vancouver's team is called the Canucks, which is a colloquial term for Canadian (it is roughly the same as calling an American a Yankee). Montreal's team is called the Canadiens, the French spelling of Canadian. In the World Hockey Association there is a Quebec Nordiques.

Politicians have a penchant for extolling the unifying nature of sports events. For example the late Honorable Lester B. Pearson commented in the 1964 Grey Cup program:

> Each year with increasing intensity, the words "Grey Cup time" carry a message of excitement across Canada. And each year it becomes more obvious that in this annual classic Canada exhibits not only a superb athletic contest but more and more a genuine National symbol, a force for unity and understanding linking east and west in vigorous healthy competition (Watkins, 1972, p. 7).

How important are these examples of sport supposedly unifying cities or countries? The author is not naive enough to believe that this tremendous interest in specific sports events does not dissolve fairly quickly. Montreal is still beset with ethnic squabbles, and in Detroit very little has been done to improve the conditions which led to the 1967 riots. In fact Detroit is sometimes used as a model to demonstrate the worst kind of social blight. The point is, however, that sport was able to integrate (albeit temporarily), a society or a community.

Perhaps a matter of greater significance than these instances is the determination of how sport integrates individuals into a community on a more permanent basis. The most fruitful studies in this area are those by Stone (1958, 1969, 1970). Stone (1969) suggests that conversation is the medium which facilitates the integrative function of sport. The background for sports conversations are furnished by participation in sport, spectating at sports events, and from the sports information that is conveyed by the mass media. Stone (1969) elaborated on the universal nature of sports conversation:

> A conversational knowledge of sports gives strangers access to one another, so that if they meet in the bar or in other public places . . . one can immediately start up a conversation with a total stranger and gain access and penetrate the barriers or the insulations of anonymity that presumably we find in the city . . . (p. 11).

In urban, industrialized societies there is division of labor and a consequent high degree of specialization of occupational roles. Durkheim (1964) saw the division of labor as contributing to societal integration because people had to rely on each other for essential goods and services. In contemporary society where machines do most of the physical work, man has had to become ultra specialized in order to adapt. This trend toward ultra specialization leads to what Durkheim (1964) has labelled the "anomic division of labor"; this condition was seen by Durkheim as detracting from social integration. This is because the very narrow occupational roles in modern society tend to reduce rather than enhance social interaction. A gesellschaft-type of society can be impersonal and foreboding, with the resultant being that a large segment of the society becomes alienated. One possible way that this alienation can be curbed is through some form of contact and communication with other members of society. The contact may simply be a conversation; the point is that this coming together on common ground, no matter how ephemeral and no matter how superficial, can help in binding individuals closer to each other. Sport is important in this context because it is considered to be a universal (Stone, 1969). It is a subject that nearly everyone knows something about, and unlike other subjects, it is relatively innocuous, and therefore easy to discuss. Stone and Taves (1970) comment on the solidifying effect of sports conversation:

> . . . the solidarity of the larger society . . . rests, in part, upon the maintenance of a community of experience, people must share, as William James put it, both knowledge about and acquaintance with similar events. On this basis they can enter into association without necessarily having been introduced. Knowledge about similar events is provided by the mass media. One can ask almost any stranger about sports or popular TV programs, and, because the stranger possesses relevant information, the conversation will be sustained, sometimes transformed into a more enduring relationship. Knowledge about similar events makes us available to one another (p. 405).

Hoch (1972) is also aware of the integrating effect of sports conversations, but unlike Stone (1969) he does not see this as being of benefit to society. Hoch sees a sports conversation as a trivial matter which may be of some help in providing an escape from an alienating existence. People could more profitably spend their time, according to Hoch, by confronting the source of their alienation instead of discussing something as inane as sport. Other authors who accept the present social system are of the opinion that the reduction of alienation via an interest in sport is a desirable outcome (Beisser, 1967) (Cozens and Stumpf, 1953).

Stone (1969) states that "if a man in our society does not have at least some conversational knowledge of sport he is viewed as suspect" (p. 10). Stone's data on the frequency of sports conversations demonstrate that sport is indeed a staple of conversation, particularly for males. In Stone's total sample of 566 Minneapolis residents, two-thirds of the men said that they talked about sports frequently or very frequently, while slightly more than one-third of the women in the study talked about sports that often.

Looking at frequency of sports conversations from a socio-economic breakdown, Stone found that about one-third of the lower strata of his population very rarely talked about sport. Stone's (1969) explanation for this finding is as follows:

> . . . I have found that there is a general alienation of the lower stratum when using such measures as integration with the neighborhood, and a sense of belonging to the larger city. . . perhaps this lack of involvement as measured by frequency of sport conversation on the part of the lower stratum indicates a larger alienation than being simply alienated from the sport world (p. 12).

Another aspect of sport conversation that was examined was the situation in which sport was discussed. The common situations where sport was discussed were with family, with neighbors, at parties and other social gatherings, at work, at clubs and voluntary associations, public places(bars, stores, bus-stops, etc.) and at a sports event.

A curious difference in the situational aspects of sport conversations was found between the upper and lower strata. The lower stratum tended to discuss sport primarily with neighbors, and aside from talking about sport with neighbors they talked a great deal about sport at work and at public places. In the upper stratum considerable sports conversation occurred in the family setting, at social gatherings and at a sports event. Stone (1969) conjects that the differences are possibly a result of the propensity of upper class families to join sports organizations and country clubs, whereas the lower-class go to public places like taverns. Sport is often a family activity at the upper-class level, whereas in the lower stratum sport is often a strictly masculine pursuit.

In some ways Furst's (1972) data on spectators at boxing matches contradicts Stone's (1969), because boxing audiences are comprised mostly of people from the lower and lower middle classes, yet the boxing match seems to be an ideal setting for verbal engagements:[3]

> Verbal exchanges between strangers and between those previously acquainted paralled each other insofar as boxing is the subject of their interactions. Comparisons between past and present boxers, selection of boxers for the purpose of wagering, observations and comparisons (sometimes invidious) between the technique of the boxers fighting style and their strategies omissions and commissions, loud comments about buxom or exotically dressed women who pass at ringside or nearby are the more prevalent subjects that occupy the boxing audience (p. 13).

It has been demonstrated that many authors are in agreement with the fact that sport conversations are an important mechanism for providing access to anonymous members of society. The acceptance of this belief presupposes that large numbers of people in society have at least a minimal knowledge of sports. How is this sports knowledge developed?

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[3] Heavyweight championship matches with their one-thousand-dollar ticket prices for ringside seats are an obvious exception to this statement. Furst's study dealt primarily with club boxing in the New York city area.

The Socialization of the Sports Fan

As a child grows up he sees older males attending sports events, watching them on TV, and reading about them in magazines and newspapers. The child may even be given clothes which bear the symbol of a favorite athletic team. Perhaps his first toys will be some form of modified sports equipment. With so much attention devoted to sport the child soon gets the impression that sport is important. This idea is further entrenched in school, as certain times are set aside for sports competition, and sport often becomes the focal point for student activity. The better athletes in school are glorified and they receive many rewards as a result of this status. Only a few people can actually garner these rewards, the rest must be content to get vicarious pleasure through watching more athletic students perform. Edwards (1973) is in agreement with the description of how this socialization process operates when he states: ". . . the overwhelming majority of the children socialized, become fans rather than athletes" (p. 238).

Coleman (1961) has observed that in the American high school, the athlete is at the top of the status hierarchy.[4] There are numerous case studies which support Coleman's findings; indeed the attention given some high school athletes by parents, coaches and fellow students borders on subservience and obsequity (Johnson, 1971) (Ricke, 1971).

Schafer (1971) sees the dominance of the high school athlete as a way of inculcating the societal values of competition and goal orientation.

> With their stress above all on winning as a team and becoming a champion as an individual athlete (thereby becoming a hero in the eyes of one's peers and community), school sports are a significant means by which an instrumental or goal orientation is developed in youth--not only in participants, but in student fans who idolize them as well (p. 6).

The end product of this socialization system is a person who believes that sport is significant and meaningful. This is manifested in attendance at sports events, watching sports events on TV, and reading about sports events. It is suggested by Schwartz (1971) that most of the theories relating to sport fan identification pertain to what Loy (1969) calls primary or secondary consumers. That is, people must at least attend the events or at least watch them on television. Tertiary consumers, those who read about sports events or who listen to them on the radio, are motivated by what Stone (1969) suggests is a need to share common satisfying experiences.

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[4] Friesen (1969) claims that this is not the case in Canada where academics outrank athletics in the high school value system.

The emphasis on sport in North America is seen by Hoch (1972) as simply an inevitable outcome of the capitalist system. The fragmentation, disorganization and dehumanization which tend to result when a person sees himself as only a cog in a machine must be countered in some way if the worker is to maintain his sanity. A beneficial by-product of capitalist societies is an increased amount of leisure. What better way to fill leisure time than to escape from alienating working conditions through a pleasurable activity such as sport? Hoch claims that this acceptance of sport is creating passive consumers, and the passivity unfortunately carries over into other spheres of life, such as in a person's voting behavior or his purchasing behavior. Hoch's (1972) solution lies in a complete ideological rearrangement of society; he suggests socialism instead of capitalism:

> In the final analysis, the success of sports promoters, or promoters generally, is based, not on their ability to inculcate "false" needs in people, (as Marcuse, for one, seems to believe), but on their ability to turn genuine needs, which the capitalist system cannot satisfy, into vehicles for selling their products. Until there is workers' control over industrial production, and until that production is reoriented toward serving unmanipulated human needs rather than the accumulation of profits, people will continue to seek their humanity in commodities (p. 146).

Edwards' (1973) views the socialization process of the sports fan in a somewhat different light. Using the concept of a "cultural fiction" as developed by Williams (1970), Edwards demonstrates how people reaffirm cultural values and norms through an involvement in sport:[5]

> The institution of sport becomes a staging area where microlevel demonstrations of the viability of prescriptions for conduct and interaction in the greater society occur. Because fans believe these sports (i.e., football, basketball, baseball and so forth) to be governed by the same values prescribing acceptable conduct for themselves in the larger society, these sports become microcosmic illustrations that this system of values continues to be effective in efforts toward goal achievement (p. 270).

Edwards then proceeds to describe the background of people whom he considers to be most susceptible to being deceived by this cultural fiction. The hypothesis is that most sports fans would be drawn from among people who are constantly involved in a goal achieving situation, but who frequently fail to attain these goals, yet they persist in attempting to achieve these goals by following societal norms. They do not innovate in the Mertonian sense to reach their desired ends because they do accept the present social behavioral standards. Their strong association with sport is motivated by what Edwards calls the "ameliorative effect" (p. 270).

Another way of perceiving the socialization of the sports fan is to examine the concept of team loyalties.

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[5] Briefly, Williams (1970) says that a cultural fiction exists:

> . . . whenever there is a cultural description, explanation, or normative prescription that is both generally accepted as a norm and is typically followed in conduct but is at the same time markedly at variance with subjective conceptions or inclinations of participants in the pattern, or with objective scientific knowledge (p. 391).

Sports fans apparently add meaning and fulfillment to their lives by identifying with athletic teams. Stone (1970) expands on the significance of sports team loyalties.

> Team loyalties formed in adolescence and maintained through adulthood may serve to remind one, in a nostalgic way, that there are areas of comfortable stability in life--that some things have permanence amid the harassing interuptions and discontinuous transition of daily experience (p. 411).

Team sport loyalties are important to analyze because the sports team eventually becomes an extension of the individual sports fan's ego. The committed sports fan experiences euphoria when his team wins and depression when they lose. The problems experienced by his favorite team are his problems, he can even take partial credit for the victories. Edwards (1973) describes the consequences for the sports fan when strong team loyalties are formed:

> For the fan, his chosen team or athlete represents himself in his own struggles in the greater society within the context of prescribed societal values. Opponents in sports events represent the forces and obstacles confronting the fan and hindering achievement in his own life's struggles (p. 243).

Beisser (1967) also acknowledges that strong loyalties with sports teams can assist individuals in feeling closer to society:

> Everyone needs to feel that he has ties with others. With the dispersal of the traditional extended family, the clan, and the tribe, this need to be identified with a group of some kind has become more intense. The sports fan has a readily available group to satisfy this need, at least in part. He has a meeting place, the stadium, where he is needed to support the team. He can gather with others, don his Dodger cap or some other

> identification badge, and yell at the top of his lungs for his team. He can memorize the batting averages, pitching records, and life histories of the team members, and the standings of the teams, so that he gets to know the team as well as he knows his own family. In effect, by doing all this, he becomes a member of a larger, stronger, family group, a collective entity comparable in some sense to the tribe or the clan (pp. 128-129).

In summary, it has been shown that a number of writers believe that people in North American society have been socialized to accept sport as being a desirable activity. To the extent that this is true, this acceptance of sport by the masses can be viewed as extremely functional for the society, because sport is thought to be both an effective integrator and a form of social control. Establishment values and the habit of passive consumption are reinforced through sport. An interest in sport is functional for the individual as well in that it appears to tie him closer to society and in a psychological sense an interest in sport is an escape from what may be a boring, stultifying existence.

SOME SUGGESTED WAYS IN WHICH SPORT HELPS TO INTEGRATE PEOPLE INTO SOCIETY

Many members of society are involved in some way with sport (Loy and Kenyon, 1969). This involvement with sport exposes individuals to certain elements within the sport social system such as symbols, ritual, ceremony and sports heroes. These elements serve the function of binding together diverse segments of society (Schwartz, 1971).

The following dicussion centers on how these various elements in the sport social system aid in integrating society.

Symbols

The function of symbols is to transmit meanings so that individuals can interact successfully. Mutually understood symbols have a cohesive function; indeed, Duncan (1968) claims that symbols are the true integrators of society because they form the basis for communication. The precise nature of the symbol is not important; what is important is the response that is generated by the communicated symbol.[6] The symbols used in sport may be superior to many other kinds of symbols because they cover a wider range--more people are aware of them.

Effective symbols produce consensus and consensus is a key indicator of social integration. Elliott and Merill (1961) assert:

> Consensus may be understood in terms of its literal derivation--namely, as a process of "feeling together" by the members of a society on the important norms of their common life . . . . Consensus arises from the common definition of situations of vital importance. When these definitions are in essential agreement, when common understandings remain concerning the basic institutional relationships, consensus may be said to exist (p. 15).

Klapp (1957) maintains that "consensus should be considered as a dimension and measure of integration, and inversely of anomie" (p. 341).

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[6] Whether it is a word symbol or a visual symbol is not important; for example the word "klondike", a picture of an oil derrick, or the Edmonton Eskimos' EE logo may all be symbols which help to integrate citizens of Edmonton.

In sport there are many symbols which have attained a high degree of currency and utility, for example, the word "sport" itself. Stone (1969, 1970) in his studies on the "Meanings of Sport in American Society" analyzed the responses made by people when they were confronted with the symbol sport. Stone asked his subjects what they thought of when they heard the word sport. From a sample of 562 there were more than 2,600 activities listed, an average of about five activities, per person. Only six people in the total sample could not mention any sports activities, which was an indication that most people were familiar with the word symbol, sport.

Stone (1969) also found that there were differences between socioeconomic classes in regard to the number of sports activities named. The higher the status the greater the number of activities listed. Stone does not place too much stock in the veracity of this finding because it may merely reflect the fact that people at higher status levels have better developed verbal skills.

As previously mentioned, sport team insignias and team nicknames have been used extensively in the past to enhance group identification. Recently it has been noted that some of the team nicknames and symbols have led to divisiveness amongst their supporters because of their racist connotations. In the United States there are six professional teams and 97 colleges that have Indian nicknames (Edwards, 1973). These nicknames and insignias are seen as demeaning stereotypes, which keep alive false myths about Indians. The Cleveland Indian's team symbol for example, is a red-faced, cross-eyed, hook-nosed Indian. This example is used to demonstrate that not all sporting symbols are integrative. These Indian caricatures are obviously symbols which cannot generate consensus.

There are also other important types of sports related symbols:

> Sport has its "symbols of the faith"--the trophies; game balls; the bats, gloves, baseballs and so forth, that "won" this or that game; the clothing, shoes, headgear or socks of immortal personages of sports. Thousands of believers marvel or shout at the sight of this or that trophy or plaque and, perhaps the greatest thrill of all is experienced by the fan who retrieves a ball actually used in a sporting event (Edwards, 1973, p. 262).

The symbols in sport and the word symbol, sport, itself probably create consensus and provide people with feelings of group solidarity.

Ritual and Ceremony

Within society there are certain social phenomena, other than symbols, specifically rituals and ceremonies, whose prime function is social integration. Alpert (1938) extols the cohesive ability of ceremony, "which brings people together and thus reaffirms their common bonds, and enhances and reinforces social solidarity" (p. 104). Durkheim (1947) declares that ceremony functions "to awaken certain ideas and sentiments, to attach the present to the past, the individual to the group" (p. 54). Radcliffe-Brown (1952), quoting from the "Book of Rites", explicitly outlines the functional necessity of ceremony. "Ceremonies are the bond that holds the multitude together, and if the bond be removed, those multitudes fall into confusion" (p. 158).

"Ritual", according to Klapp (1969), "is the prime symbolic vehicle for experiencing emotions and mystiques together with others, . . . solidarity and fullness of emotional life are two immediate consequences of communicating by ritual" (p. 118). Duncan (1968) says that "rituals are symbolic expressions, and that such experiences have a 'social function' because their proper enactment is believed to create and sustain social order" (p. 186).

Ritual and ceremony are obviously closely interrelated; in fact, a ritual is a type of ceremony. The difference between the two concepts is that ceremonies are more formal than rituals and ceremonies must involve at least two people while rituals may be performed alone. In both instances symbols are utilized as a means of sharing group sentiments and values.

When traditional rituals and ceremonies are disturbed there is individual discontent, and a tendency toward social disintegration. The rituals and ceremonies have lost their common meanings and they are therefore unable to provide identity for individuals or groups (Klapp, 1968) (Nisbet, 1965).

The manifestations of this form of societal malaise, at the individual level, are people who are characterized as unattached, marginal, normless, estranged and isolated. At the group level, this condition is symptomatic of high crime rates, high suicide rates and a high incidence of drug addiction.

In his studies of American communities Warner (1953) noted that it is difficult to integrate complex modern communities. Religion is not as functional in this regard as it once was, because there are now so many religions that they conflict with one another. Warner singles out ceremonies in which there is large-scale participation, such as Memorial Day, as being the true unifiers of a community. This type of ceremony can be ideal for integration because there is very little disagreement as to the meaning of the symbols involved.

Warner (1949) also pointed out that any of the symbolic integrators such as ceremonies could be used in a disruptive manner so as to decrease social solidarity, for example, the use of white sheets and crosses by the Ku Klux Klan or the use of swastikas by "Jew haters". These symbols would be integrative for the particular group that they represent, but for the larger society they would be disintegrative.

In interpreting Warner's description of the functional significance of ceremonies, such as Memorial Day, it appears that a major sports attraction would have the same effect. Schwartz (1971) concurs with this analysis when he states:

> . . . spectator sports may promote esprit de corps and group solidarity among members of a particular team, school, community, region or country. This group spirit stems from the development of a common bond to "their" team and sports heroes and, more subtly, from common interests and values derived from following the same sports (p. 22).

Grey Cup day in Canada or Super Bowl day in America are examples of major sports attractions which appear to have a significant integrative capacity.[7] The national importance of a sport like football was seen last year in Canada when the Grey Cup was held on a Sunday. Church leaders complained that the televised game would conflict with their regular church services. Their pleas to have the game time changed were ignored. Most clergymen, realizing that their attendance would be low if they persisted with regular services, decided either to change the church service time or to cancel it altogether. Perhaps more revealing than this incident was the occasion in the United States when an NFL play-off game was played on Christmas Day. Despite going head to head with the most important religious holiday in the year, football did not suffer. Indeed "the magnitude of sports interest has grown in proportion to the loss of involvement by Americans in other rituals" (Beisser, 1967, p. 150). Sport may well have reached or even surpassed a status which is equivalent to organized religion. There are many discernable similarities between mass appeal sports events and organized religion. Harry Edwards' (1973) analysis of these similarities is the most insightful and the most complete (Figure 3).

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[7] Capacity crowds watch these games in person, while literally tens of millions of people are occupied with the event in front of their TV sets.

In the summary of his sport and religion comparisons Edwards (1973) states:

> Sport involves feeling, ritual, and the celebration of human achievement. It provides fans with a set of organized principles which give meaning to their secular strivings and sufferings. And beliefs about sport support social values and norms (p. 262).

In the realm of sport there are many forms of ritual and ceremony which help to attach individuals to society. Toffler (1971) in his book "Future Shock" felt that sport was a ritual which served the purpose of providing continuity and stability in a rapidly changing world; in effect, an interest in sport may be an antidote to future shock:

> Even those who ignore sports cannot help but be aware of these large and pleasantly predictable events. Radio and television carry baseball into every home. Newspapers are filled with sports news. Images of baseball form a backdrop, a kind of musical obligato that enters our awareness. Whatever happens to the stock market, or to world politics, or to family life, the American League and the National League run through their expected motions. Outcomes of individual games vary. The standings go up and down. But the drama plays itself out within a set of reassuringly rigid and durable rules (p. 395).

For Rousseau (1958), baseball is a ritual wherein valued personal characteristics which are nearly extinct can be viewed. For example, in baseball you can view the reality of the self made man, something more difficult to find in real life.

Figure 3

Comparison of Sport and Religion*

Religious Practice	Sport Counterpart
Has a body of formally stated beliefs, accepted on faith by great masses of people, these beliefs are widely disseminated.	-the same
The preservation of the sanctity of religious beliefs, is for the most part in the province of males.	-the same
People who are deceased, but who while living personified the tenets of the church, are canonized as saints.	-There are numerous sport immortals who are the equivalent of saints: Vince Lombardi, Roberto Clemente, Howie Morenz, etc.
Living people who have a high status in the church because of their adherence to, and exemplification of, religious dogma. Edwards classifies these people as "ruling patriarchs".	-Examples of ruling patriarchs of sport would be people such as John Wooden, Paul "Bear" Bryant, Clarence Campbell and Gordie Howe.
Religious scribes have the prime duty of chronicling the history and disseminating the beliefs to the people.	-In sport these duties are performed by the print and electronic journalists.
Devotees and religious converts are called "seekers of the kingdom" because of their habit of attending religious ceremonies where they hope to reaffirm the values that give meaning to their lives.	-The staunch sports fan.
Many religions have shrines, or sacred places of worship.	-Halls of Fame.
Houses of worship.	-Stadia, arenas, etc.
Symbols of faith.	-Trophies, game balls; goal scoring pucks, etc.

*This Figure is based on Edwards (1973, pp. 261-262).

Beisser (1967) conceptualizes sport as being a ritualistic endeavor whose major purpose is to provide an "elongated bridge across childhood, adolescence, and adulthood" (p. 224). Fiske (1972) has shown in an ingenious way how college football in America is really an initiation ceremony which commemorates a young male's entry into manhood. Lerner (1957) also describes sport as being a crucial ritual which is important for drawing people closer together, but rather than a puberty rite, sport is for Lerner, a ceremonial means of legitimating violence and tension release.

Up to this point the discussion has centered around ritual and ceremony as it relates to sport in general. There are some differences among sport sociologists as to the specific functions served by sport ceremonies and rituals, but there is unanimity among sport sociologists concerning the social integration function of these rituals and ceremonies. On a smaller scale, ritual and ceremony are prime elements in particular sports, and as such they have a consolidating effect on the audience. For example, Furst (1972) describes what has become customary at boxing matches--the introduction of past and present boxers of renown:

> The latent entertainment element in this custom has always inhered in the ability of popular heroes to stimulate the audience, thereby preparing them for the anticipated action. In the past three to five years, as well-known ex-champions repeatedly perform these dramaturgical rites, the ovation and general emotional tenor of the audience has increased (p. 5).

Other rituals of this nature which are frequently a part of the sport scenario are the playing of national anthems, half-time shows, official kick-offs or puck dropping ceremonies, giving three cheers for the losers, and shaking hands--both when play is commenced and when it is terminated. All of these ritualistic activities serve the purpose of solidifying or reaffirming important societal values, beliefs and sentiments for both the players and the spectators.

THE SPORTS HERO[8]

The hero is a primary social model used by society to help maintain the social structure. Fishwick (1954) concurs with this viewpoint, although he may be taking an extreme position when he says: ". . . just as a pier holds up the bridge, so does the hero support society" (p. 226). Supposedly, societal models will typify the major norms, values and beliefs of the society. When societal models are successful, there should be a close relationship between the models and the rest of the society. A society will usually support its models and it will "recruit, train, and control members of the society in accordance with these models" (Klapp, 1962, p. 18).

The hero as a social model should be consistent in his behavior, and should be considerably more successful than most other members of the society, since one of the hero's main functions is to raise the aspiration levels of the people in the society. Klapp (1962) argues that the hero lifts people above where they would be without the model. The essential feature of the hero from the societal vantage point is that the hero should behave in such a way as to perpetuate collective values, affirm social norms, and contribute to the solidarity of the society.

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[8] Much of the material in this section was published by the author of the study under the title "The Sport Hero: An Endangered Species", in Quest, January, 1973, pp. 59-70.

Why People Worship Heroes

Klapp (1969) defines hero worship as "a yearning relationship in which a person, in a sense, gets away from himself by wishing or imagining himself to be like someone whom he admires" (p. 211). Fishwick (1954) feels that hero worship is inherent in human nature. If his assessment is correct, then everyone has the need to worship heroes as a form of escape. According to Fishwick the hero "helps us to transcend our drab back yards, apartment terraces, and tenements, and to regain a sense of the world's bigness" (p. 226). This need to escape via the hero has been described by Klapp (1962) in a variety of ways: an identity voyage, psychic mobility and dream realization. These terms are nearly synonymous and refer to the capacity of an individual to live vicariously through his hero. Assumably by worshipping a hero, the individual adds meaning and fulfillment to what otherwise would be a drab existence.

Klapp (1969) suggests that there are three main directions hero worship can take: reinforcement, seduction and transcendence. "Reinforcement" keeps the individual within the social structure and directs him toward socially approved goals. "Seduction" keeps the individual within societal bounds, but tempts him to break rules. "Transcendence" takes the individual outside of the societal structure, and provides him with a new identity, new experiences and new norms.

A hero that reinforces would be someone who embodies the major social values (John F. Kennedy, for example). The seductive hero would be someone like the fictional James Bond. He lives largely within the social structure, but he tempts us to gamble, to be violent and to be immoral. The transcendent hero leads us out of this society and forms a new society (Timothy Leary or Charles Manson would be candidates for transcendent heroes).

A person's identity voyage through a hero can be helpful as in a budding athlete learning and imitating the professional's particular skills. Hero worship also may serve a compensatory role in that the adulation may not provide tangible benefit for the person, but he feels good about the experience. Hero worship may serve as an important mechanism in adolescents for whom parents no longer serve as primary models. The heroes chosen by the adolescent may have a significant, positive influence on decisions about careers and life styles. Alternately, the individual may choose a negative model, or the individual may become locked into a fantasy world of vicarious heroism and eventually have difficulty coping with reality. The hero worshipper who aspires too unreservedly to follow in his hero's footsteps can suffer psychological trauma if he is thwarted.

The Cult of the Hero

A cultic response to a hero refers to mass hero worship. Mass communication facilities have allowed images to be projected to large numbers of people simultaneously. This in turn has enabled the masses to use media celebrities for their identity voyages. Mass hero worship gives a feeling of fellowship and belonging to the individual worshipper. Mass hero worship seems to sanction the act; with so many people doing it, it must be all right.

A cult is formed when people become devoted to a particular ideal or value and engage in ritual to achieve it. The activity becomes truly cultic when it is the central focus of people's lives. A cult thus differs from a fad in the degree of seriousness and commitment involved. For many, the hero cult is a search for a life style, it fills a spiritual void. Correspondingly, Klapp (1969) feels that cultism is a response to the strain imposed by such factors as emotional impoverishment, banality and stylelessness. Essentially, then, a cultic reaction to a hero gives meaning and fulfillment to empty lives through the celebration of shared ritual.

How Hero Worship Develops

A child's social learning takes place primarily through social models. The child's first model usually is one of his parents. As he grows older, he is more influenced by models from his peer group and by the multiplicity of models proffered by the mass media. Before the child acquires an identity, he will have been confronted with a vast array of model types.

Bandura's (1969) studies on social learning provide a key to understanding how hero worship develops. A person will identify with a model if that model is rewarded in front of observers. The reward has essentially the same effect on the observer as on the model. Heroes are rewarded repeatedly through applause, mass media coverage and special awards. This has the effect of reinforcing the identification process between fan and hero.

Although a reward may improve the model, punishment may or may not devalue it. If a hero is punished, his followers have one of two choices: (a) drop the hero or (b) vent their anger on the authority who imposes the sanction. When Denny McLain was suspended from the American League for four months in 1970, he lost a great deal of his lustre. On the other hand, Maurice Richard's fans reacted to his suspension in 1955 by pelting Commissioner Clarence Campbell with eggs and by rioting and looting in the streets.

Bandura (1969) has further suggested that modelling is more likely to occur if observers feel they have something in common with the model. A person is more likely to be used as a model if, in addition to being socially powerful, highly competent, a purported expert, a celebrity and a symbol of socioeconomic success, he is of the same sex, ethnic group and age as the observer.

Manifestations of Sports Hero Worship

The sports hero has long been an object of adulation. There were encomiums for early Olympic winners, Roman gladiators were given special privileges, and Sir Lancelot usually rode off with the fairest maiden. The sports hero has been popular because people can readily identify with him. It is natural to appreciate the best in any endeavor and the sporting hero is a relatively unrefined model. Athletic hero worship has been accepted and even encouraged because sport represents major cultural values.

To the author's knowledge there have not been any studies which have empirically examined the role of the athletic hero. The articles that have been written are primarily speculative accounts concerning the societal function of athletic role models.

There is much evidence to indicate that people worship sports heroes, either collectively (as in teams) or as individuals. Fans clamor for autographs and engage in fist-fights over a baseball that has gone into the stands (Wecter, 1963). Attendance at most sporting events is up and sport on television is very close to the saturation level.

Bubble gum cards[9] of sports heroes are still popular with children, and magazines containing profiles of sports heroes abound. Newspapers publish obscure sports statistics and books on sporting teams, and individuals have made a dent on the best seller charts.[10]

Athletic stars receive mountains of fan mail, are fêted publicly at benefits and make television appearances on talk shows and in advertisements. The movies are even soliciting sports heroes in an effort to shore up the sagging box office. Joe Namath and Jim Brown are two of the most famous athletes who have succumbed to the lure of Hollywood.

Halls of Fame, where former athletes are immortalized, are numerous as are various fan clubs for teams and players (Kirshenbaum, 1971). These fan clubs hold regular meetings, publish monthly news letters and on occasion travel en masse to a game to view and meet the object of their desires.

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[9] A quote by J. M. Schwartz (1971) is relevant here:

> . . . baseball cards don't just sell bubblegum. They are a small cog in an elaborate socialization system which aids in the process of molding youngsters to fit the American way of life (p. 23).

[10] For example Paper Lion and Bogey Man by George Plimpton, Instant Replay by Jerry Kramer and Ball Four by Jim Bouton.

Categories of Sports Heroes

In Klapp's (1962) typology of heroes, athletes are listed under the category entitled "heroes of play." Klapp treats the athletic hero quite superficially in that he presents him as being only a uni-dimensional model. For Klapp, the athletic hero simply is one who performs well in front of an audience. This description really does not differentiate between athletes and entertainers, nor does it take into account the variety of ways in which an athletic hero establishes rapport with his audience. There are many subtleties and nuances in an adequate social model of the athletic hero, and a much more refined system of classification is necessary.

To be a sports hero the athlete must have a high level of physical ability. Sometimes this ability in itself is enough to make the athlete a hero. In other instances the athlete must have particular attributes in additon to his physical skill before he acquires the title of hero. Deford (1969) alludes to this point when he states: "Talent is only the first part of being a superstar. Beyond that, to deserve the title a player must establish a notoriety and an impact that can be turned into box office" (p. 33).

At the basic level many athletes have been decent, honorable, unassuming individuals. They have served as acceptable role models, especially for children and adolescents--the people most prone to emulate their behavior. These types of hero fit into Klapp's (1969) reinforcement category, in that they usually are quiet, respectable family men who personify middle-class values. Athletic heroes of this ilk emerge because of outstanding performances over a number of years. These athletes possess awesome skill, they are dedicated and they reliably produce a quality effort game by game, season by season. The type of athlete who fits this category would include Gordie Howe, Bart Starr, Stan Musial and Billy Casper

Another way for the athletic hero to emerge is to be the man of the hour. This refers either to an athlete who makes an outstanding play in the last seconds to win an important game; or to an athlete who makes a spectacular performance over a relatively short time-span. An example of the former include Bobby Thompson hitting a game winning home run with two out in the bottom of the ninth to win a play-off game for the New York Giants in 1951. Examples of the latter instance would include Don Schollander winning four gold medals in the 1964 Olympics, or Ken Dryden almost single-handedly winning a Stanley Cup for Montreal in 1971.

The underdog is another type of athletic hero. This label applies to players who perform at a high level despite some particular disadvantage. The underdog according to Sagarin (1970) is one who is "not favored or expected to win by virtue of size, strength, experience or even birth" (p. 430). Sports history is replete with examples of heroes who have overcome severe odds. Golfer Ben Hogan recovered from a near fatal automobile accident to come back within a year to win the United States Open. Jackie Robinson became one of the best players in baseball despite the degradation he suffered as the first black player in the major leagues.

Some athletes are heroes because of their individual flair or charisma. Arnold Palmer was chosen an athlete of the decade in 1970 primarily because of the tenacity and aggressiveness he showed when fighting to come from behind. Joe DiMaggio played the outfield effortlessly with a special kind of classic grace. Willie Mays has an inimitable style: fans like his exuberance, his casual basket catches, and the way his hat flies off when he runs. Mays has so much panache that fans have even said he looks good striking out. Perhaps the best example of a unique style in contemporary sport is Bobby Orr. Dowling (1971) claims that Orr's style as a defenseman is revolutionary, it has permanently changed the game.

The aforementioned athletic hero types are in line with Klapp's socially approved, reinforcing hero. There has been a trend in recent years, however, for athletic heroes to fit more comfortably into the seductive category. Some modern sports heroes are brash and arrogant, they are [illegible] who have supreme confidence in their ability and often can back it up. Muhammed Ali's inane though accurate poems telling when his opponent would fall and Joe Namath guaranteeing a Super Bowl victory are examples of this type of sports hero. Deford (1969) aptly describes this new trend in athletic heroes:

> . . . all of the most recently ordained Impact Champions have required off-the-field controversy to complement their athletic exploits. Muhammed Ali and Namath had the facility of being heard at an extraordinary distance (p. 34).

In many cases these athletes are not taken to the public's heart. Admired for their ability, they also are despised because they are too haughty and overbearing. Although seductive heroes don't inspire universal love, they often remain heroes because of their box office magnetism.

The anti-hero is popular in books and movies and in sport as well:

> The day of the establishment player is rapidly passing away in favor of sports performers who now live it up more, talk more, think more and raise more hell with management than their predecessors ever considered attempting in the benign old days of boss-dominated sports (Batten, 1971, p. 2).

The anti-hero is someone who eschews traditional heroic qualities, yet is heroic either in spite of or because of this. The anti-hero is particularly popular with the youth because of their predilection for rankling the silent majority. Joe Namath and Derek Sanderson are the prototypes of the anti-hero in sport. Both are bachelor swingers, who frequent night clubs, sport long hair and mustaches, wear mod clothes, and who flaunt team rules. Both have a penchant for the limelight and the more they irk the older generation, the more they are lionized by the young. Neither of these two athletes portrays the public virtues of the traditional hero: honesty, dedication and strength of character. Namath is famous for his answer to the stock question inquiring about what he did the night before the big game: "I took a broad and a bottle of scotch to bed" (Batten, 1971, p. 2).[11]

In an article entitled "Joe Namath: New Anti-Hero" James Reston (1970) refers to Namath as a significant symbol because of his attachment to the contemporary notion that whatever succeeds is right. The adherence to this kind of a value, plus a rebellious attitude, have made Namath a folk hero for the young:

> To the kids, he is still a hero. He defied all the old-fashioned rules. He didn't work with the "team". He reported late for practice. He was not like the old moral sports heroes--the Reverend Bob Richards arguing on television that sports, religion, and the breakfast food of champions were all the same. He was not even like Babe Ruth or Walter Hagen, who tried to conceal their alcoholic adventures. He ran his bars and his football on the same track at the same time, defying all the old assumptions and moralities . . . (Reston, 1970, p. 12).

Anti-hero athletes have the seductive quality that Klapp (1969) underscored, a quality which may induce young fans to bend the rules and resist the established order. Since Namath appeared with a Fu Manchu beard and white playing shoes this equipment has become de rigueur for many football players. This is not to say that such influences necessarily are bad, only that seductive heroes inevitably invite changes in established patterns of behavior.

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[11] Bill Russell (1970) trenchantly summarizes the establishment's point of view when speaking of Joe Namath. Russell says that he likes Namath personally, but that he doesn't admire or respect him because Namath stands for nothing except having a good time.

It would be rare for an athlete to fit Klapp's (1969) transcendent category. An athletic hero normally does not have the power to take his followers outside the bounds of the social structure to produce a person with a new identity. Athletics represent stability and conservatism, the antithesis of what the transcendent hero stands for.

THE DEMISE OF THE SPORTS HERO

"Where have you gone Joe DiMaggio, a nation turns its lonely eyes to you."[12] This lament from a recent popular song seems to say it all about the disappearance of the traditional hero. What we seem to have left is a collection of incomplete or tarnished quasi-heroes. We still have the need to worship heroes, but the models that are available are becoming less and less exemplary. Klapp (1969) has noticed this trend and has reappraised his definition of a celebrity hero. "A celebrity hero is not someone who is especially good, but only someone who realizes dreams for people that they cannot do for themselves (p. 214)."

Hook (1957) claims that there is little opportunity for genuine heroism in a democratic society. The hallmark of heroism is singularity, and in a democracy it is difficult for one individual to have a significant effect on matters. In this connection, the editors of Time (1966) noted that heroes now are emerging as composite figures rather than as individuals. The astronauts are used to illustrate this point: very few people remember all of them individually, but they do have the status of a collective hero. Deford (1969) bemoans the fact that this lack of interest in the individual hero has carried over into sport:

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[12] From the song "Mrs. Robinson" by P. Simon and A. Garfunkel.

> Sport offers too much tribute to the peripheral contributions of the super-numeraries at the expense of the great stars who really make it. Writers and commentators (must they be "color men?") wallow in mechanical expertise. It is always shrewd planning, gears meshing, wonderful organization. Perhaps it only reflects our anonymous lives, but it is forever the battle plan that is celebrated not the classic individual achievement (p. 34).

One hundred years ago when there was a paucity of mass communication, myth making was easy, for it was difficult to refute stories about athletic heroes. When mass communications started to cover sporting events they continued to preserve the sanctity of the athletic hero. Comments either written or spoken about athletes seldom were objective, they served only to patronize and glorify the athlete. Often the mass media created heroes out of athletes who were less than deserving. Babe Ruth, for example, was one of the most celebrated sports heroes of all time, but as Shecter (1970) observes, "Ruth had an undisciplined appetite for food, whiskey and women" (p. 119). Shecter goes on to say that "little of this was available to the contemporary public. The Babe was thoroughly protected by the news media" (p. 119). Hook (1957) concurs with the latter judgment when he notes the pervasive control of mass media over the process of hero making:

> Today, more than ever before belief in "the hero" is a synthetic product. Whoever controls the microphones and printing presses can make or unmake beliefs overnight (p. 10).

Sport Magazine (1970) in an introspective editorial actually apologized for its lack of objectivity in covering athletic heroes:

> It is true for many years "Sport" along with the rest of the world treated the big-name athlete in a Frank Merriwell fashion. We were all content to dote on his statistics, on what he ate for breakfast, on his serene home life, on his virtues as a man. And we overlaid the portrait with a heavy helping of pancake makeup, lest any blemishes peek through (p. 84).

Gallico (1938) very aptly describes what used to be the standard way in which athletic heroes were covered by the press:

> The sports-writer has few if any heroes. We create many because it is our business to do so, but we do not believe in them. We know them too well. We are concerned as often, sometimes, with keeping them and their weaknesses and peccadillos out of the paper as we are with putting them in. We see them with their hair down in the locker-rooms, dressing rooms, or their homes. Frequently we come quite unawares upon little meanesses. When they fall from grace we are usually the first to know it, and when their patience is tried, it is generally to us that they are rude and ill-tempered. We sing of their muscle, their courage, their gameness and their skill because it seems to amuse readers and sells papers, but we rarely consider them as people and strictly speaking, we leave their character alone because that is dangerous ground (p. 70).

This uncritical attitude on the part of the mass media has changed somewhat in recent years. Irreverent books such as Shecter's The Jocks, Meggyesy's Out of Their League (1970), Bouton's Ball Four (1971), Conacher's Hockey in Canada: The Way It Is (1970) and Barnes' The Plastic Orgasm (1971) have ripped the halos from modern heroes. This type of book is an antidote to trade books like Robertson's Rusty Staub of the Expos (1971). Jennings (1971), when reviewing the latter, found that after wading through paeans of repetitious praise he "expected an announcement of mass canonization with every page" (p. 14).

In the electronic media the move away from partiality has been slower, but at least one United States network has attempted a small gesture in that direction. The American Broadcasting Company employs the acerbic Howard Cosell as a color man on their Monday night football telecasts. Cosell's central claim to fame is that he tells it like it is (Lisker, 1971). It seems that the mass media which once pandered to athletic heroes now is contributing to their decanonization, if not their decline.

Another reason for the loss of interest in sports heroes is that there are just too many sports and too many teams for people to follow. The overall growth of sport has had a benumbing effect on fans. Who can keep the perpetually expanding and reorganizing leagues straight, let alone the athletes and the tidal wave of related statistics? A further consequence of sport expansion is that there are too many good performers. It is difficult to distinguish between the great player, the record holder and the good player. Perhaps Deford's (1969) term "impact champion" is useful here, the only true heroes being those athletes whose mere presence makes a sizeable increase in the box office take.

Athletic heroes are losing their credibility and thus their utility for many fans. More and more it is player hold-outs and potential strikes that fill the sports pages. Fans seek sports heroes to escape, not to be burdened with the economic problems of the professional athlete. It becomes difficult to sympathize or even identify with the six-figure athlete if you are an eight-thousand-dollar-a-year man yourself.

The athlete also loses credibility when he is seen in less than flattering advertisements. Joe Namath getting $10,000 to shave his beard for a TV commercial is seen as a rip-off by many fans. Famous athletes seen crying for their Maypo and lathering up with Rise are degraded by the banal dialogue placed in their mouths. Ross (1971) declared recently that the testimonial was not a particularly effective method of selling. If the sport testimonial doesn't do much for the product, it may even do less for the hero athlete who is doing the selling.

The public is becoming increasingly wary of being used by their sports heroes. Athletes who have lately tried to use their names as spring boards into politics and business have been rebuffed. In recent Canadian and American elections only those former athletes who were eminently qualified were elected (Ryan, 1970). In business many well known athletes have found that their name was not enough. Last year a number of athletes with floundering businesses were forced to file for bankruptcy.

The decline of the athletic hero may also be linked to the fact that many of them represent counter culture values. The counter culture is only a sub-culture and the majority simply does not relate to this system of values (Agnew and Johnson, 1971).

The status of the athletic hero may be diminishing, but they are not yet in a moribund state. The athlete hero is still a valued symbol which has the potential to be a force for social integration.

In summary, the hero is an ancient and honorable role of great cultural utility. Heroes are created in many guises and perform many functions. As a special object of adulation, the sports hero is both the instrument of and the mirror for a variety of social processes. Consequently, changes in cultural value systems evoke parallel changes in the archetype elected to heroic status in sport. It is not unexpected, therefore, to find that the relationship between sports heroes and their audience has altered in the fast pace of recent years. Whether the traditional sport hero simply is undergoing a metamorphosis, to later emerge in a new and vital cultural role, or indeed has reached the end of his usefulness and is doomed to extinction, only the unwinding of the century can reveal.

THE ROLE OF THE MASS MEDIA

The mass media form a link between the individual sports fan and his favorite team or athlete. The fact that the mass media innundate society with sports information is an indication that this is what the public wants. The role of the mass media insofar as it develops and sustains an interest in sport is expressed by Meyersohn (1960):

> . . . the mass media have done more to create than reflect common interests. Far more Americans hunt and fish than play baseball or box; yet the latter are the most popular sports programs. Its spectators learn nothing "useful"--as they claim to do from soap operas. What they get out of it is: a common interest is developed and perpetuated which enables virtually every American male to carry on intense conversations with any other (p. 350).

Stone (1970) augments Meyersohn's statement in regard to the way in which the mass media facilitate the integrative function of sport:

> Knowledge about similar events is provided by the mass media. One can ask almost any stranger about sports or popular TV programs, and because the stranger

> possesses relevant information, the conversation will be sustained, sometimes transformed into a more enduring relationship. Knowledge about similar events makes us available to one another (p. 405).

There is an obvious symbiotic relationship between sport and the mass media. A prime function for both of these institutions is social integration; the mass media provide the form (technological devices) while sport provides the content (sports results, sports information, etc.). The symbiotic nature of this relationship is motivated primarily by a mutual desire for financial gain. The mass media profit because they have a valuable commodity (sports information) which the public seems to want. Sports programs are among the most popular of all television shows, and the sports section in a newspaper covers at least four pages and it is usually one of the paper's most widely read sections. Malette (1971) attests to the popularity of the newspaper sports section when he states:

> In most newspapers the sports section is the largest section of the paper devoted to any single subject. Circulation managers say that about 30 percent of the people who buy their papers do it primarily for the sports news (p. 109).

Sports promoters benefit from their liaison with the mass media because they get an inordinate amount of free publicity. Not only do sports promoters get free publicity from the mass media, but they also get the sports news covered in such a way that it creates a favorable public image for their product. Both McFarlane (1955) and Smith

(1973) have noted that the mutual interdependence of the sports journalists and the sports promoters roles is such that the public usually gets a distorted view of what really happens in sport:

> . . . almost all news, views and entertainment heard over the media are essentially advertisements for the consumption-oriented way of life favored by media advertisers and owners. Sports news, for one, has never really been much more than a bit of razzamatazz for promotional purposes, and the bribery of the mediamen by professional promoters has long been institutionalized (Hoch, 1972, p. 137).

The societal benefit of this convenient relationship between sport and the mass media is that a certain amount of consensus is developed. This consensus or at least knowledge of similar events provides the grist for informal conversations. Another societal benefit of mass media sports coverage is that sport is portrayed in such a way that it glorifies establishment values. Sport and the mass media both help to develop the values that are necessary to sustain a capitalist society.

One might well ask why it is that sports journalism is so status quo oriented, when ethical journalistic practice suggests that balance, persistence and objectivity are the key elements in reporting a story. Edwards (1973) attempts to explain the rationale behind this perplexing contradiction:

> In order for a fan to identify his own personal efforts at instrumental goal achievment within the context of approved societal rules with the struggles of his chosen athletic unit in the sports realm, both the fan's personal struggles and the struggles waged by his athletic family must be perceived by the fan as occurring within the

> bounds of similar if not identical "rules of the game." Under these circumstances, the chief role responsibility of the sports reporter as liaison person between the athletic unit and the fan is that of casting the activities of primary-level persons in sports and of sports aggregations within the context of the societal values that the institution of sport functions to reaffirm and sustain (p. 249).

If the sports journalists were not to report sport in this traditional way it is likely that they would incur the outrage of committed sports fans. It is almost heretical to impugn sport because to attack sport is to attack the North American value system. To tamper with the sacrosanctity of sport is to deprive countless numbers of people of their identity voyage through sport.

The Sports Journalist as an Opinion Leader

Although it has been shown that the mass media play an important role in helping to unify society, it has not been demonstrated that the mass media are effective in getting people to adopt or change their attitudes and beliefs. Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) espouse the two-step flow of information theory. The essence of this theory is that people will obtain information from the mass media but they will tend to form attitudes and opinions based on their interrelationships with people that they consider to be knowledgable. The people who are consulted for this information are the opinion leaders.

Many people feel that the mass media have a penchant for distorting the truth, consequently they will accept information which they think are facts (game scores, trade results, signings, etc.), but they will rely on personal contacts to form their opinions. The opinion leader generally is much more in contact with the mass media, an is also more cosmopolitan and discerning in his tastes. The opinion leader, theoretically, is exposed to a wide variety of information, including mass media coverage, before an opinion is formed. The impact of the mass media, then, is diluted somewhat by opinion leaders before it reaches the masses of society.

If Katz and Lazarsfeld's model is applicable to the way in which sports information is distributed, it may be that the use of the mass media by sports promoters does not have the desired effect. That is to say, people do not accept as gospel what is relayed by sports promoters through their intermediaries, the sports journalists. Before they form or change an opinion they consult with someone, usually from their primary group, whom they consider to be a sport expert.

The studies which have examined the relationship between sport and the mass media have almost entirely been descriptive, yielding information such as the number of hours that people watch sport on TV, what their favorite sports TV show is, and how often they read the sports page (Robinson, 1970). This type of information is interesting and important but there is a need to delve further into this relationship to determine if the mass media have any significance as opinion leaders.

VARIABLES WHICH ARE THOUGHT TO RELATE TO INDIVIDUALS' ASSOCIATION WITH SPORT

Up to this point there has been a discussion of how various elements in society such as symbols, ritual, ceremony and heroes help to connect individuals to society through the medium of sport. The aim of the present section is to demonstrate how certain social characteristics, namely, sex, age and socioeconomic status can affect the way in which individuals relate to the institution of sport.

In a general way sport may be helping to integrate people into society, but whether sport is able to integrate a specific person would seem to be at least partially a function of variables like sex, age and socioeconomic status. These three variables have been selected for special emphasis because they are the ones most commonly mentioned in the literature as being key determinants of sport involvement (Stone, 1969) (Robinson, 1970) (Tiger, 1970 (Webb, 1969) (Hoch, 1972) (Edwards, 1973).

THE INFLUENCE OF SEX ON ASSOCIATION WITH SPORT

In North America sport has been almost exclusively a male-dominated institution. As Metheney (1970) notes, this orientation toward sport is not peculiar to North America; this tradition was derived from the practices of the ancient

Greeks. The belief in the natural inferiority of women is imbedded in Western cultural tradition. The institution of sport has helped to entrench this belief by relegating females to a second-class status. The secondary status of females in sport is reconciled in the following manner:

> In America, roles involving the establishment and maintenance of security, leadership, control, and other instrumental functions are typically reserved for males. Therefore, given the claimed relation between sport and the greater society, it is to be expected that the focus will be upon males, with females being more or less ignored and excluded from the claimed benefits of sport (Edwards, 1973, p. 100).

Females are associated with sport, but their role is limited. It is considered undesirable for women to propel heavy objects; to engage in combative activities; or to compete to exhaustion (Metheney, 1970). Yet, it is acceptable for females to be involved in activities which enhance their femininity. Sports like skiing, gymnastics, figure skating and synchronized swimming fit this category because they place a premium on artistry and aesthetic appeal. The male role in sport is not as affected by similar constraints.

Female adolescents who enter competitive team sports often acquire the derogatory appellation "tomboy". At school an active interest in sport is often not the best way for females to attract the opposite sex. Sherif (1972) says that this kind of recognition is reserved for girls who are popular and are school leaders but usually not athletes. Coleman (1961) noted that adolescent males could achieve high status, despite shortcomings in certain areas such as academic ability and personal attractiveness, if they were good athletes. There is very little emphasis on female sports in academic institutions; rather than competing they are encouraged to remain on the periphery as spectators or cheerleaders. Discouraged from athletic participation in schools, females are "channelled into preparation for those occupations which are basically extensions of the mother-wife role such as nursing, secretarial and clerical jobs, social worker and school teacher" (Edwards, 1973, p. 231).

Because of their own limited role in competitive sport, females tend to be less interested in following sports events. Stone (1969) found that two-thirds of the men in his study talked about sport frequently or very frequently as contrasted with only one-third of the females in the sample. Part of the reason why it is difficult for women to become interested in sport is that the mass media give only token coverage to female athletes. Phillips (1972) labels this "communication bias" (p. 189), and she cites examples where "many newspaper articles pertaining to women and sport appear on the Women's page and highlight clothing styles appropriate for the activity". In short, female athletics are not usually taken seriously by the mass media. Sport Magazine (1972) has recognized this imbalance between male and female sports coverage: "For years this magazine has treated women athletes in a rather condescending way. We have covered them, but fitfully and with no real enthusiasm" (p. 120).

Gilbert and Williamson (1973) descibe how this meager mass media coverage dampens the motivation for potential female athletes:

> The paucity and peculiarity of sporting news about females have two effects, both discriminatory. First, girls at all levels of play are deprived of the genuine and the harmless satisfaction of seeing their athletic accomplishments publicized. Because the feats of outstanding women athletes are briefly and bizarrely reported, there are few sporting heroines. Boys are bombarded with daily stories about how much fun male athletes are having, how important, dashing and rich they are . . . . Girls have few such models and seldom receive such subliminal messages advertising athletics (p. 96).

Females, then, have less incentive to participate in sport because there are few extrinsic rewards available to them, and secondary and tertiary involvement in sport is not overly appealing to women because there are so few female athletes to identify with. There are even indications that females know more about male athletes than they know about female athletes. Gilbert and Williamson (1973) reported in their informal survey that

> . . . nearly all of some 100 high school girls scattered across the United States could name 10 male athletes in college or professional sports whom they admired--or at least whose names they knew. But not a single girl to whom the question was put could name 10 prominent women athletes (p. 96).

Edwards (1973) postulates that the differences in sport involvement between sexes are largely due to the nature of their role responsibilities in society. Since males are involved more often in instrumental pursuits (the provision of food, shelter, clothing, protection, etc.) than females, you might expect males to be more involved in sport, because sport supposedly symbolically represents the dominant values of the larger society. Edwards (1973) provides some interesting evidence in support of this speculation. In societies or cultures where sex roles are blurred there is greater tolerance for female participation in sport. "In the Soviet Union, where the roles of men and women in terms of instrumental versus expressive responsibilities outside of the home seem to be less sharply differentiated, women are more successful in sports competition" (Edwards, 1973, p. 233). Also in the black American culture where females often have more instrumental roles than their white counterparts, female athletic participation seems to have more approval.

In North American society it would seem that sport is not a particularly effective avenue of integration for females. In fact the limited opportunities for females in sport may serve to underline the second-class status of females in society and contribute to alienation rather than reducing it.

THE INFLUENCE OF AGE ON ASSOCIATION WITH SPORT

Age can have a significant effect on the way in which individuals are associated with sport. Vigorous team sport activities such as hockey, football and basketball are primarily taken part in by younger athletes, whereas older people are less likely to be involved in participant sports at all. Robinson (1970) stated that age was the most powerful predictor of sports participation. If older people do participate it is usually in some milder form of recreation such as curling, bowling or golf.

This change from strenuous to less taxing forms of activity is primarily due to the physiological factors associated with aging. These include a gradual decrease in muscular strength, coordination and cardio-vascular efficiency (Updyke and Johnson, 1969).

Not only are participation habits changed with advancing age, there are also differences between age groups, in the sports they follow, and in the extent to which they follow these sports. A recent Harris poll (1972) showed that certain sports like football, hockey, track and field and auto racing were more popular with those under 30 than those over 50. On the other hand, baseball, golf and horse racing were more popular with the older group.

There is also some evidence which suggests that adolescents are prone to admiring sports heroes, even to the extent of emulating their behavior (Schwartz, 1971). Adults tend to view sports figures with greater detatchment; they may admire certain sports figures but they are much less likely to copy their mannerisms (Klapp, 1969).

To some extent a person's age and their athletic involvement may have a bearing on social integration, this is particularly so with males. Coleman (1961) testified to the importance of being an athlete in the high school social system. For male high school students, lack of athletic participation may be related to low social integration. People of retirement age often find difficulty adjusting to a routine of not having to go to work. Those who have activities to fill their leisure time are usually not highly alienated. Playing or watching sports frequently is a pleasant diversion for these people.

The Influence of Socioeconomic Status on Association with Sport

There are numerous references in the literature pertaining to the relationship between socioeconomic status and various types of sport involvement (Loy, 1966) (Stone, 1969, 1970) (Robinson, 1970) (Edwards, 1973). Stone (1970) found that upper-class informants in his study participated in sport to a significantly greater extent than informants from the other two classes. The same study reported class differences according to frequency of sports conversations, and interest in spectator sports. Lower-class informants talked less about sport and were less interested than middle-class informants in watching sports events. Middle-class respondents had the greatest tendency to watch sports events, while upper-class respondents, in addition to participating most often, talked most frequently about sport; and they selected football and golf as favorite sports more often than respondents from the other two classes.

This inclination toward spectatorship among the middle class has also been noticed by Clarke (1956) who reported that "the largest proportion of respondents who spent most of their leisure hours as spectators were in the middle occupational level" (p. 305). Loy (1966) suggests that the middle-class is sport-spectator oriented because sport affords these people a choice to "identify with a successful sport star or team; they experience the success they themselves would like but can never obtain" (p. 9). Loy postulated that people from the middle class would be the most frequent spectators at sports events. Attendance at sports events apparently is a way for the middle class to adapt or conform to society, because sport is recognized as representing dominant values of North American society.

Edwards (1973) takes a further step by stating that sport is a way of relieving social strain among the middle class. Assumably, sport serves to remind the middle class of mainstream values and hence helps to prevent innovative adaptations in attempts to achieve basic social goals.

The interest and involvement in sport by the upper class is purportedly related to their greater tendency toward goal achievement and involvement in instrumental pursuits. Theoretically these daily life activities have an influence on their close association with sport (Edwards, 1973).

Because socioeconomic status influences sport involvement, it also may have a bearing on the extent to which sport can act as a social integrator. From the previous discussion it would appear that sport may not be a useful vehicle of social integration for the lower class.

This section has dealt with the postulated relationships between an association with sport and three major independent variables, namely, sex, age and socioeconomic status. The results of this analysis suggest that sport may have an important but limited role in social integration. Sport probably helps to integrate young males from the middle and upper social classes, but it is questionable if sport can effectively integrate females in general and lower-class males.

SUMMARY

It has been suggested that sport is an institution in North American society, and as such it has numerous social functions. Supposedly, one of these major functions is social integration. It has been a subject of scholarly debate as to whether or not sport actually does integrate, and if indeed it does integrate, can this be construed as being functional or dysfunctional for society? There is a great deal of confusion and complexity surrounding the concept of social integration and the antipodal concept of alienation. Certain authors see both concepts as being too global in nature to be of any real use in scientific studies, while other observers claim that there are certain valid indices which can measure degrees of both social integration and alienation.

Various descriptions of how sport assisted in integrating communities were noted. The social system of sport was then examined and a determination was made of the processes which link individuals to society through sport. The processes which were thought to be of greatest significance were symbols, ritual, ceremony, and sport heroes.

An investigation was also conducted into the way in which the mutually interdependent mass media and sport social systems contribute to the integration of society.

Finally, there was an appraisal of how the major independent variables (sex, age and socioeconomic status) might influence association with sport, and thus influence sport's capacity to serve as a social integrator.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

This chapter presents: a description of the community in which the study was carried out; the sampling method; the data collection procedure; the research instrument; operational definitions; the hypotheses to be tested; an outline of statistical procedures to be followed; and the delimitations and limitations of the study.

SELECTION OF THE COMMUNITY

The criteria for selecting a community site for this study were an urban community where a wide range of ages and socioeconomic levels were represented. These criteria were necessary because it was felt that both age and socioeconomic status were related to how an individual associates with sport. It was also deemed important that the community be large enough so that there were numerous mass media outlets for sports information; to have a fair appraisal of how people use the mass media for sports information, it was necessary that there be a number of alternative sources to choose from.

The city of Edmonton, Alberta, met these basic criteria, and since the author was a resident of this city it meant that the collecting of data could be completed more practically in terms of time and finances.

THE SAMPLE

The study was designed and the data collection completed between the months of February, 1972 and July, 1972. The data-gathering phase took place during the months of May, June and July.

A prime consideration in the sample selection was that there had to be approximately equal numbers of respondents in the categories of sex and socioeconomic status; and a wide distribution of ages was also required. These were the three main independent variables in the study, and as such they were required in near equal proportions, so that the hypotheses could be tested properly. In order to achieve these arbitrary standards, a multi-stage probability sample was used. In the first stage, three clusters representing upper class, middle class and lower class were chosen at random from the 1961 census tracts. The census tracts were broken down into socioeconomic categories on the basis of average income per head of family (McVey, Jr., 1971). The selection procedure consisted of combining all of the census tracts of a particular socioeconomic status and then choosing one of those tracts for study. This method was repeated for each of the other two socioeconomic levels. The census data for 1961 were obviously out of date ten years later; however they were the most recent data available for which average incomes per head of family in each census tract had been computed. The 1971 census had been completed at the time these data were collected, but the results of this census were not made available until March of 1973, which was about a year after the data collection in this study was completed. The mean income per head of the family based on the 1961 census data was as follows: upper class $7,723.00; middle class $4,967.00; and lower class $3,602. The average income per head of family for the whole city in 1961 was $4,495.00. Although the census tracts had changed somewhat, in the 1971 census the mean incomes for the census tracts where the data had been collected were as follows: upper class $13,812; middle class $7,925; and lower class $5,155. The average income per head of family for the whole city in 1971 was $6,751.

The second stage involved choosing clusters of individuals within the three main area clusters. Henderson's 1971 City Directory provided the sampling frame from which certain streets and avenues were randomly chosen from within the boundaries of the various census tracts. The final stage consisted of selecting particular individuals from within the chosen streets and avenues. Included in the sample were all of the households listed in the directory living on the selected street or avenue.

Careful consideration was given toward the selection of equal numbers of men and women; this was accomplished in the following manner. The streets and avenues index in the city directory lists only the head of the household. In the majority of cases this is a male: when a female is listed it usually means that she is either widowed, divorced or separated. In order not to bias the sample with too many of these types of respondents, women were selected by cross-referencing the head of the household from the street-avenue index to the name index where the wife's name also appears. Four out of five adult women were selected by this procedure, the other one-fifth of the adult women were chosen from the street-avenue index. Using these procedures a female respondent was chosen from every second household.

This method of selecting individual respondents was followed for each census tract until forty respondents for each census tract were selected. The forty respondents selected comprised part of the test sample as well as a contingency sample. It was hoped that approximately 25 to 30 adults per census tract could be interviewed. The over-sampling procedure was used to account for refusals, people who had moved, or people who for some reason could not be contacted.

One problem encountered in the sampling process was that of locating respondents who were not listed in Henderson's City Directory. For the purpose of this study these included primarily adolescents and young adults between the ages of 12 and 22, who were living at home. This problem was partially circumvented by getting permission from schools in the area to interview some of their students.

Permission was granted by principals and/or teachers to conduct interviews in six schools (three high schools and three junior high schools) which serviced the selected census tracts.

In the schools, the contact person (either the principal or a teacher) was to arrange for interviews with 12-15 students. The requirements for the selection of these students were: that there be equal numbers of males and females; that they be interspersed amongst the various grades; and that they be randomly selected. The suggested procedure was that the contact person within the school randomly select one class from each grade in the school and randomly select 4 or 5 students from each class.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

The questionnaire which was designed expressly for this study was completed by the author during separate interviews with each respondent. This method of data collection seemed to overcome the problem of low response rate which is a major shortcoming of the mailed questionnaire. In this study there were only 10 refusals out of 164 completed interviews.[12] Another advantage of the interview technique is that it provides the opportunity to probe when responses are unclear.

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[12] None of the students who were asked to participate in the study refused. There were ten refusals amongst adult respondents; six refusals from the lower class, three of which stemmed from language difficulties, and three potential respondents stated they were not interested in sport. Four other respondents, two from the middle class, and two from the upper class refused to participate. One mentioned a distaste for sport, the others said they didn't have the time.

The major disadvantage of this type of data collection procedure is the time that is required to complete the interviews. Each interview which took place in the home took approximately one hour, while interviews in the school were of somewhat shorter duration.[13] In the schools it was possible to interview 7 or 8 respondents per day, in the homes the average was between 2 and 3 per day. Most of the interviews in the homes had to be conducted in the evenings, this was the only free time for most of the males, and many females possibly felt insecure about being interviewed by a strange man when no one else was around. In some instances it was possible to interview the male at his place of business.

Once the respondents had been selected, letters were written which introduced the investigator and gave a brief explanation of the study (Appendix A). Two or three days after the letters were mailed, respondents were contacted by phone or in some cases in person, and an attempt was made to arrange an interview time.

In instances where people could not be contacted, two call backs were made. If the person still could not be reached the procedure was to move to another name on the list. Data collection in the residential areas was terminated once a total of between 25-30 respondents had been interviewed. It took at least two weeks, sometimes longer, to reach this number of completed interviews.

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[13] With adults, in their homes, it was often necessary to engage in small talk to establish a rapport and to create an informal atmosphere. Some adults appeared to be suspicious at the outset, they wondered if this was not some new kind of sales gimmick or a subtle way of gaining entry to their house.

The collection of data was much simpler in the schools, since the contact person in the school had made prior arrangements for one student to be available for an interview every 45 minutes.

The interview questions were asked in the order in which they appear in the questionnaire. In two areas special cards were used to make the data collection easier. For any question relating to "how often" the respondent did something, he was asked to refer to the special card and to give the number corresponding to his answer (Appendix C). The alienation scale came at the end of the interview because it was considered a particularly sensitive area. To complete the alienation scale, respondents were given the alienation questions on prepared cards and were asked to give the numerical rating from one to four which corresponded to their answer. This procedure was used because it was felt that some respondents might be inhibited about responding to direct questions on their personal feelings.

Prior to starting the interview, respondents were told that they were being questioned on their attitudes toward sport. It was impressed on the respondents that there were no right or wrong answers, the important consideration was that they express what they truly felt.

A final note should be mentioned about the timing of the data collection (May, June, July). It was felt by the writer that this was the best possible time in the year to collect this type of data. Neither of the two most prominent sports (football and hockey) were in season; consequently a great deal of potential bias was reduced.

THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

A major objective of this study was to connect some of the multifarious aspects of previous research in the area of sport sociology, and to establish the relationships between these divergent elements. In order to accomplish this task it was necessary to prepare a rather long questionnaire. A 114-item questionnaire was designed for use in this study. Questions pertaining to awareness of sport, team loyalties, and frequency of sports conversation were adapted from those used by Stone (1969).

Some of the questions dealing with mass media usage were based on those used in the Special Senate Committee Report on the Canadian Mass Media (1971). Particular questions relating to the dimensions of sports hero worship, mass media influence, and "sport saliency" were formulated by the investigator expressly for use in this survey. Also included in the questionnaire was an alienation scale, and in addition there were questions which sought basic demographic information (Q's 1-13, 113).

Outline of Sport Awareness, Sport Interest and Sport Involvement Measures

The questionnaire that was used in the study can be seen in Appendix B. In this section there is an elaboration of the questions which comprised the sport awareness, sport interest and sport involvement sections of the questionnaire.

The measures of sport awareness are the responses to the questions: "What does the word sport mean to you?" (Q. 16); and, "What kinds of activities do you think of when you think of the word sport?" (Q. 17). Another measure of sport awareness is the "sport saliency" index, which is the result of a six-item sports knowledge test (Q's 85-90).

The measures of sport interest are the responses to the questions: "Do you consider yourself to be a sports fan?" (Q. 15); "Do you have any favorite sports teams?" (Q's 33-35); and "Which sports performer do you most admire?" (Q's 37, 39, 41). The sports team loyalties are analyzed in terms of the sport of the team mentioned, the geographical location of the sports team, the reported length of interest in the team and, the expressed rationale for following the particular team. Each respondent could mention a maximum of three favorite sports teams.

Questions pertaining to the sports hero are evaluated on the sport of the sports hero, and the sex, race, and nationality of the sports hero. Each respondent had the opportunity of listing a maximum of three sports heroes; two questions dealt simply with mentioning particular sports figures that they admired, while the third question sought to measure the intensity of this relationship by asking respondents; "Is there a particular sports figure that you would like to be like?" (Q. 41).

Three levels of sport involvement were considered in this study, primary involvement (physical participation in sport), secondary involvement (attendance at sports events) and tertiary involvement (relating to sports events through the mass media and through conversations).

Primary sport involvement was measured by how much respondents said they liked participating in sport (Q. 18), how often they actually did participate in sport (Q. 20), and by their favorite participant sport (Q. 19).

Secondary sport involvement was measured by how much respondents said they liked attending sports events (Q. 27).

Tertiary sport involvement was measured by respondents' frequency of involvement with television (Q's 25, 47-53), radio (Q's 54-57), newspapers (Q's 61-66), and magazines (Q's 58-60), for sports information. Respondents were also requested to rank the various media, personal contacts and attendance at sports events as sources of sports information according to which one they used most, liked most and believed most

(Q's 44-46). In a similar vein, respondents were asked to rate the various media and personal contacts as sources of sports information according to the following categories: Most complete in their coverage--least complete in their coverage; Most truthful--least truthful; Most important--least important; Most influential--least influential; Most educational--least educational; Most difficult to acquire information from--least difficult to acquire information from; Most open or frank in it's presentation--least open or frank in it's presentation; The one you get most involved in; the one you get least involved in (Q's 68-75). In the questionnaire it is stated that respondents are to rank their choices on these categories from 1 to 5, this procedure was changed to have respondents list only their first and fifth choices. This change was made because of respondents' difficulty in differentiating between sources of sports information for their second, third and fourth choices. They were, however, able to differentiate between the extreme positions.

There were further questions which attempted to discern the influence of the mass media and other sources like family, friends, etc., on respondents' opinions toward sport (Q's 76-81). A final set of questions dealt with the frequency of sports conversations, the sports conversation location (that is, at home, at work, at school and so forth), and the sports conversation situation (that is, with whom they discussed sport) (Q's 30-32, 43).

Social Integration Measures

An alienation scale and the number of organizations a respondent belonged to, were the two basic measures of social integration employed in this study. A third measure of social integration dealing with community satisfaction is listed in the questionnaire (Q. 14) but was not used in the data analysis. This measure was excluded from the analysis because there was some doubt about its validity.

The dimensions comprising the alienation scale purportedly measure integration into (or alientation from) one or more aspects of the overall society (Seeman, 1959), whereas the number of organizations belonged to is thought to measure integration into (or alienation from) the immediate social environment.

The alienation scale employed in this study had previously been tested for reliability and validity by Dean (1969). Dean's scale consisted of 24 items which measured three dimensions of alienation, namely, normlessness, powerlessness and social isolation (Q's 91-108). The items dealing with each specific dimension of alienation are highlighted with the appropriate designation (either (P), (N) or (I)) in the questionnaire.

In Dean's scale there were 9 items each to evaluate powerlessness and social isolation, and 6 items which measured normlessness. In the present study only 18 of Dean's 24 questions were used, 6 questions on each alienation dimension. The justification for using the abbreviated scale was that some of the items were very similar in content, thus it was felt by the writer that the scale could be shortened without losing its effectiveness. Also it was felt that a respondent's motivation may wane if required to complete the longer scale.[14]

The second measure of social integration was the question: "How many organizations do you belong to?" (Q. 114). There is evidence in the literature which indicates that alienated people are often social isolates (Dean, 1969). Clark (1968) reinforces this point when he states:

> The degree to which a community performs an important integrative function could be roughly measured by the number of voluntary organizations per resident in the community (p. 89).

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Theoretical and methodological concepts were operationally defined as follows:

Alienation "A condition of society manifested in a personal disillusion with societal institutions and processes" (McLeod, et al., 1966, p. 585). In this study alienation is measured using an alienation scale developed by Dean (1969) which features the dimensions of social isolation, normlessness and powerlessness.

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[14] This questionnaire was pre-tested with a group of high school students. In post-test discussions with the students there were frequent references to repetitious questions in the alienation scale.

Mass-Media A set of technological devices whose function is to transmit messages, to a mass audience, in such a way that they all get the message at virtually the same time. In this study the mass media included TV, newspapers, radio, and magazines.

Opinion Leader "An individual within a community who has an important impact on the opinions of others" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969). In this study it is only opinions related to sport that are considered.

Personal Contacts Any person with whom the respondent discusses sport.

Primary Involvement Actual participation in sport.

Secondary Involvement Attendance at sports events.

Social Integration The process of coordinating the various diverse elements of society into a unified whole. In this study social integration was measured by the number of organizations a respondent belonged to.

Socioeconomic Status Also used in this study in the abbreviated form as SES; this term refers to a position in a social stratification system. This position or ranking is usually derived from a combination of social and economic indicies. In this study the SES of the adults was based on the average income per head of family in the census tract of residency. For students, SES was determined by father's education level.

Sport As defined by Edwards (1973, p. 57):

> sport involves activities having formally recorded histories and traditions, stressing physical exertion through competition within limits set in explicit and formal rules governing role and position relationships, and carried out by actors who represent or who are part of formally organized associations having the goal of achieving valued tangibles or intangibles through defeating organized groups.

In this study respondents are evaluated on their awareness of these activities, their interest in these activities and the various ways they are involved in these activities.

Sport Awareness A respondent's general familiarity with the institution of sport as measured by personal definitions of the word "sport", the activities that are brought to mind when respondents hear the word "sport" and by respondents' score on a sport saliency test.

Sport Interest A respondent's interest in sport as measured by the degree to which respondents consider themselves to be sports fans; respondent's sports team loyalties; and by respondent's sports hero worship.

Sport Saliency In this study sport saliency is considered as a dimension of the broader category "sport awareness".

Sport saliency is measured by a 6-item general sports knowledge test (Q's 85-90).

Tertiary Involvement The degree to which a respondent uses the mass media as a source of sports information, and the frequency with which respondents engage in sports conversations.

HYPOTHESES

Hypotheses refer to statements about the nature of reality, which can be empirically tested. In the present study, because of its exploratory nature, hypotheses are treated in a restrictive sense, they are thought of as predicted relationships rather than as evidence that cause and effect relationships exist.

Some of the hypotheses are borrowed directly from the previous literature, while others were developed by combining portions of theory from a number of research studies. The hypotheses relate to the three major sets of dependent variables which were explained in an earlier section of this chapter: sport awareness, sport interest and sport involvement.

For the sake of clarity, hypotheses are listed according to what are considered to be the most important independent variables; sex, age, SES, social integration, and alienation.

HYPOTHESES RELATING TO THE VARIABLE SEX

Numerous authors have suggested that sex is an important determinant in whether, and to what extent, a person becomes associated with sport. Females have fewer opportunities to participate in sport and when they do, they get fewer rewards than males (Gilbert and Williamson, 1973). Females have traditionally been socialized to accept a passive, domestic life style, while males are encouraged to be assertive and to take up active participation in sport. The consequences of this socialization process are that males participate in a wide variety of sports while females participate in only a few socially approved sports, and that males follow the sports scene much more closely than females do because nearly all of the attention is centered on the best male athletes. (Stone, 1969) (Tiger, 1970) (Metheney, 1970) (Hoch, 1972) (Edwards, 1973).

Sex and Sport Awareness

A1. Males will define the word "sport" more in terms of competition than will females (Webb, 1969).

A2. Males will list different sports activities than will females (based on activities that are brought to mind when they hear the word "sport").

A3. Males will score higher on the sports saliency measure than females.

Sex and Sport Interest

B1. Males will consider themselves to be sports fans to a greater extent than will females (Stone, 1969), (Tiger, 1970).

B2. Males will be more likely to have sports team loyalties than will females.

B3. Males will have a longer association with their favorite sports teams than will females.

B4. Males will be more likely to select a sports hero than will females.

Sex and Sport Involvement

C1. Males will participate in sport more frequently than will females.

C2. Males will attend sports events more frequently than will females.

C3. Males will use the mass media for sports information more frequently than will females.

C4. Males will converse about sport more frequently than will females.

HYPOTHESES RELATING TO AGE

It is suggested that younger individuals are more likely to be actively involved in sport, while older individuals are involved in sport more through spectating and conversation (Robinson, 1970) (Stone, 1969).

Age and Sport Interest

D1. There will be an inverse relationship between the respondent's age and whether or not a sports hero is selected. Older respondents will tend not to select a sport hero.

Age and Sport Involvement

E1. Frequency of participation in sport will be inversely related to age.

E2. Frequency of sports conversation will increase as age increases.

HYPOTHESES RELATING TO SES

Stone (1969) contends that people in the upper class will participate more often in sport and will be able to list more activities that they consider to be sports than people from the lower social classes. Loy (1966) claims that individuals from the middle class will be more prone to have sports heroes and well developed team loyalties, and will use mass media more for sport information than the other social classes. Lower-class individuals will tend to be removed from an interest in, and involvement with sport.

SES and Sport Awareness

F1. Respondents from both the upper- and middle-class levels will score higher on the sport saliency measure than will repondents from the lower class.

SES and Sport Interest

G1. An interest in sport as measured by question 15 will be most pronounced among middle-class respondents.

G2. Middle-class respondents will be more likely to select sports heroes than will upper or lower class respondents.

SES and Sport Involvement

H1. Participation in sport will increase as SES level is higher.

H2. The frequency of attendance at sports events will be highest among the middle-class respondents.

H3. Sports conversations will be most frequent among middle-class respondents.

HYPOTHESES RELATING TO SOCIAL INTEGRATION

In the survey of the literature a number of authors were cited who claimed that sport performed a valuable function by helping to integrate society. If this is the case, it is assumed that an awareness of sport, an interest in sport, and an involvement with sport would lead to a more socially integrated individual (Stone, 1969) (Edwards, 1973).

Social Integration and Sport Awareness

I1. The higher a respondent's sport saliency score, the greater the number of organizations belonged to.

Social Integration and Sport Interest

J1. Respondents who consider themselves to be sports fans will belong to more organizations than respondents who do not consider themselves to be sports fans.

J2. Respondents who choose favorite sports teams will belong to more sports organizations than those who do not choose favorite sports teams.

J3. Respondents who have sports heroes will belong to a greater number of organizations than respondents who do not have sports heroes.

Social Integration and Sport Involvement

K1. The greater the number of organizations a respondent belongs to, the more frequent the participation in sport.

K2. The greater the number of organizations a respondent belongs to, the more frequent the attendance at sports events.

K3. The greater the number of organizations a respondent belongs to, the more frequently the mass media are used to gain sports information.

K4. The greater the number of organizations a respondent belongs to, the higher the frequency of sports conversations.

HYPOTHESES RELATING TO ALIENATION

Alienation is viewed as the antithesis of social integration; consequently it is predicted that individuals who are highly alienated will not be closely associated with sport (Edwards, 1973).

Alienation and Sport Awareness

L1. Sport saliency score and level of alienation will be inversely related; the higher the sport saliency score, the lower the level of alienation.

Alienation and Sport Interest

M1. Respondents who consider themselves to be sports fans will be less alienated than respondents who do not consider themselves to be sports fans.

M2. Respondents who choose favorite sports teams will be less alienated than respondents who have no favorite sports team.

M3. Respondents who have sports heroes will be less alienated than respondents who do not have sports heroes.

Alienation and Sport Involvement

N1. The more frequent the participation in sport, the less alienated the respondent.

N2. The greater the frequency of attendance at sports events, the less alienated the respondent.

N3. The more frequent the use of the mass media for sports information, the less alienated the respondent.

N4. The greater the frequency of sports conversation, the less alienated the respondent.

STATISTICAL TREATMENT

In this study there is extensive use of multivariate statistical procedures. This is in accord with the method of survey analysis recommended by Selvin (1968). These multivariate statistical procedures make use of the F-test which means that they are considered as parametric statistics (that is, statistics which use means and standard deviations from original scores). Since much of the data in the present study are of the ordinal or nominal level, one might well ask why parametric statistics are being utilized; especially in light of Siegel's (1956) suggestion that F-tests be used only with interval level data.

The rationale for using parametric statistics in the present study is based on a number of articles which have challenged Siegel's (1956) assumption. Anderson (1970, p. 54) differs with Siegel's assumption; he claims that

> . . . this statement of Siegel's is completely incorrect . . . the F-test may be applied without qualm . . . . It will then answer the question it was designed to answer: can we reasonably conclude that the difference between the means of the two groups is real rather than due to chance?

Gaito (1970, p. 38) supports this line of reasoning when he states:

> Some of the assumed advantages of non-parametric analyses cited have been premature inasmuch as the assumptions of the parametric techniques are not as restrictive as once supposed.

A number of mathematical studies have examined the use of the F-test when its assumptions have been violated. Under these conditions Cochran (1950) found the F-test as valid as the Chi-square statistic using both ordinal and nominal level data. Feldt and Hsu (1969) have also concluded that the F-test may legitimately be used with both ordinal and nominal level data, and Anderson (1970) suggests that it is not necessary to have an interval level scale to make statistical inferences based on parametric statistical procedures.

In light of the previous statements which suggest that parametric statistics can appropriately be used with nominal and ordinal data, it was decided by the writer to use multivariate statistical procedures which incorporate the F-test. The use of this type of statistical analysis is justified in two ways: (a) parametric statistics are somewhat more powerful than non-parametric statistics; and (b) it is much more efficient and economical in terms of computer use to employ parametric tests which control for the effects of all other variables, than it is to use non-parametric tests and control only for certain variables.

In some instances non-parametric statistical procedures were utilized in this study. When two ordinal level variables were correlated, the Spearman correlation coefficient was used; and the Chi-square statistic was used to test the independence of two nominal variables.

Testing Research Hypotheses

The hypotheses were not stated in the classical null form; instead specific directional hypotheses were stated. Although the hypotheses were stated in this way, the writer adhered to the traditional method of establishing significance levels so as to avoid Type I and Type II errors.

Significance levels are reported when they reach the .05, .01 or .001 level of confidence. The .05 level was set as the minimum level for not rejecting a research hypothesis.

Description of Statistics Utilized

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis: This procedure was used in this study to measure the relationship between a set of independent variables and a dependent variable while taking into account the interrelationships among the independent variables (Nie, et al., 1970). Specifically, this technique was used to determine the best predictors, among age, sex, SES, education levels and the social integration measures, of certain interval level measures of sport interest and sport involvement. The term stepwise refers to a computer operation which requests that all independent-dependent variable combinations be explored and that the independent variables be selected in order of their predictive capacity (Eisenbeis and Avery, 1972).

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis: This procedure tests the significance of difference between means of a number of independent variables based on dependent variables scores. Essentially discriminant analysis is a multivariate extension of univariate analysis of variance except that each variable is weighted and this weighting "represents the relative importance of that variable with the effects of the other variables partialled out" (Tatsuoka, 1970, p. 4). Discriminant analysis was used in this study with ordinal or nominal level dependent variables to assist in predicting the level of a respondent's awareness of, interest in, or involvement with, sport from a knowledge of their rating on independent variables such as sex, age, SES, social integration and alienation.

Spearman's r This statistic was computed when correlating two ordinal level variables. A correction factor for tied scores was used when the number of categories was small.

Chi-Square This statistic was employed to test the significance of differences between the observed and expected frequencies where two nominal variables had been cross-tabulated. Blalock's (1960) idea of pooling separate Chi-Square tests into a single overall test was also employed where the separate Chi-Squares had been computed for independent data.

DELIMITATIONS

1. Adult respondents were drawn from the city of Edmonton using Henderson's 1971 City Directory as a sampling frame.
2. Respondents were a minimum of 12 years of age, because it was felt by the writer that respondents younger than this may have difficulty in understanding certain questions.
3. Age, sex and socioeconomic status were considered to be three important independent variables; consequently the sample was delimited to include approximately equal representation in each of these categories.
4. Because of a consideration for time and cost, the number of respondents included in the study was delimited to between 150 and 175.

LIMITATIONS

1. The census data used for the selection of adults into the various socioeconomic categories were nearly ten years old. This meant that people from newer areas of the city were not considered for selection, because these new census tracts did not exist in

1961. Also it could mean that the residents in these census tracts do not have the same SES level now that residents had at the time of the census. This latter point seems not to be the case, however, as 1971 average incomes for the selected census tracts correspond to the upper, middle and lower socio-economic categories.

2. All of the respondents below the age of 19 were interviewed in six different Edmonton schools (3 junior high schools and 3 high schools). All of the six consenting schools were from the public system, the separate school board refused permission to conduct interviews in their schools.[15]

3. In addition to the exclusion of young Catholic respondents, there was another group which was not accurately surveyed. This was the 18-to-22 age group who may have been working permanently or who may have been attending a post-secondary educational institution while still living at home. An attempt was made

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[15] Both separate and public school systems allow certain types of approved research to be carried out within their schools. The usual deadline date for the completion of this research is April 30th. The data collection in this study occurred after this date, consequently special permission was required to get access to the schools. The public school board allowed the research to be conducted providing that a school official approved; the separate school board would not accept such an arrangement. The study was continued because it was felt that religion would not be a key variable in this study.

to collect data from this group in the following manner: when contacts were made with respondents for interviews, they were asked if there was anyone between the ages of 18 and 22 living at home who was not attending high school; in the occasional instance when there was such a person, permission was sought to interview the person from this age group.

4. Another unforeseen sampling problem concerned the data collection from high school students. High school boundaries often encompass seven or eight census tracts; therefore, it was difficult to select respondents from the high school who lived in a particular census tract. To have done so would have added considerably to the administrative problems of collecting the data, and quite likely could have jeopardized the opportunity to collect data from within the schools. The compromise solution was to interview the respondents who had been selected by the contact person in the school and then assign these respondents to a socioeconomic status in accordance with their father's educational level. One or more university degrees corresponded to upper class; less than a university degree and a minimum of high school graduation was equated with middle class; and respondents whose fathers had less than high school graduation were assigned to the lower class.

It is understood by the writer that this is a gross indication of socioeconomic status; however, fathers' education level would seem to be a legitimate measure of the socioeconomic status of students, because this variable correlates highly with fathers' occupation and income levels, which are two of the most commonly used criteria for determining socioeconomic status (DuWors, 1973).

5. The assessment of an individual's socioeconomic status is extremely complex and is at best a tenuous undertaking. As mentioned previously, there are a number of indicies which could be consulted before a final assignment is made. The common indicators of socioeconomic status that are employed in sociology are income levels, occupational rankings, and education levels. Sometimes a combination of these three factors is used. No attempt was made in this study to ascertain income levels. The exclusion of this measure was based on the following rationale: many people refuse to divulge this information; subjects often overstate their income; and problems arise in determining income levels in situations where the respondent holds more than one job, or where the wife is also employed.

Occupational rankings are also highly correlated with socioeconomic status but there are difficulties in attempting to make a precise categorization of occupation. This is especially true when seeking information such as fathers' occupation where the respondent may not be able to accurately describe the nature of the father's job.

Educational level perhaps is the most useful means of categorizing socioeconomic status, because it is usually highly interrelated with both income level and occupation ranking. To some extent education ranking avoids the drawbacks of the other two measures, in that people seem willing to report education levels whereas they are hesitant to mention income levels, and education level can usually be categorized more accurately than occupation ranking. Education rankings are also imperfect measures of socioeconomic status, however, in that they can misrepresent cases.

For example, the unemployed Ph. D., or the person with the sixth grade education who has amassed a great deal of wealth, both may be put in the wrong socioeconomic class if only education level is considered.

This sample is biased to the extent that it excludes Catholic youths, it underrepresents those people living at home who are between the ages of 18 and 22, and it overrepresents young people (50.6% of the total sample were 18 years of age or less). This sample also overrepresents adults who live in single family dwellings. This is because the selected census tract did not contain many apartment buildings.

The aforementioned sampling deficiencies have undoubtedly contaminated the results of this study to some extent; to what degree it is not known. Sampling bias was consciously avoided whenever possible by using random sampling procedures. It cannot be said that this sample is a true representation of residents of Edmonton; for this reason the results will not be generalized beyond this particular sample.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Description of Respondents

A total of 164 residents of Edmonton,Alberta, comprised the sample. Table 1 shows the breakdown of the sample on some of the important social background variables included in the study.

According to recently released Statistics Canada 1971 census data, this sample under-represents those people in the 21-35 age group. This imbalance is a result of interviews being conducted primarily with people living in private homes. It is assumed that many of the people in the 21-35 age group would be apartment dwellers.

SOCIOECONOMIC MEASURES

The measure of socioeconomic status for the present study was based on a number of criteria. Adult respondents were selected from census tracts which were classified as either, upper, middle or lower class neighborhoods on the basis of average income per head of family. For adolescent respondents the socioeconomic measure was father's education. If the father had one or more university degrees the respondent was designated upper class; if the father had grade 12 or more but no university degree the respondent was assigned

Table 1

Sample Composition According to Age, Sex, and Education

Age	% of Sample	N
20 and under	55.5	90
21 - 35	18.3	31
36 and over	27.2	43
		n=164
Sex		
Male	47.6	78
Female	52.4	86
		n=164
Years of Education		
9 or less	29.3	48
10 - 12	45.5	77
more than 12	24.8	39
		n=164

to the middle class; if the respondent's father had less than high school graduation, the respondent was placed in the lower-class category.

This method of determining socioeconomic status, though inexact, is justified on the basis of the high intercorrelations between education level, occupation ranking, and socioeconomic status for the adult respondents, and for the adolescent respondents there was a highly significant correlation between father's education level and father's occupation.

Dr. R. DuWors (1973) stated at a recent professional meeting that respondent's education level or father's education level are good measures of socioeconomic status in themselves, because of their close correspondence to Blishen scale ratings. The percentage distribution of socioeconomic categories is presented in Table 2.

Spearman correlation coefficients were computed to show the degree of relationship between socioeconomic status, education level and occupational ranking. These results are shown in Table 3.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION MEASURES

As mentioned in Chapter 3, two different measures of social integration were used in this study. The alienation scale was employed as a measure of social integration on the grounds that a low degree of alienation is tantamount to a

Table 2

Composition of the Sample According to Socioeconomic Status

SES	% of Sample	N
Upper Class	31.7	52
Middle Class	35.4	58
Lower Class	32.9	54
		n=164

Table 3

Spearman Correlations between Socioeconomic Status Education Level and Occupational Ranking[17]

Adults (over 18)	SES	Educational Level	Occupational Ranking
SES	1.000	.806	.849
Educational Level		1.000	.808
Occupational Ranking			1.000
			(n=81)

Adolescents (18 or under)	Father's Educational Level	Father's Occupational Ranking
Father's Educational Level	1.000	.901
		(n=83)

Note: All correlation coefficients are statistically significant at the .001 level of confidence.

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[17] Occupation was ranked on a 5 point scale.

1. Professional, proprietor, manager or official of a large firm.
2. Proprietor, manager or official of a small firm, semi-professional.
3. Skilled tradesman, clerical and sales.
4. Semi-skilled.
5. Unskilled.

high degree of social integration. The basis for this assumption is that alienation is thought of as "some form of separation of the individual from some aspect of society" (Schact, 1970, p. 154). The concept of social integration has been construed as the converse of this definition (Srole, 1956) (Williams, 1970). The particular alienation scale used in this study has been used in previous studies by Dean (1969) and Holian (1972).

The second measure of social integration was the number of organizations that a respondent belonged to. The number of voluntary organizations belonged to was suggested by Clark (1968) as being a useful measure of social integration. Neal and Seeman (1964) found that membership in work-related organizations (unions, professional societies, etc.) also served to reduce alienation.

The Spearman rank order correlation coefficient between the two social integration measures was not statistically significant (r=.106). Although there is a degree of commonality between the two measures, the relatively small size of the correlation coefficient suggests that there is considerable variation in what the two social integration scales are measuring. Simmons (1969) has noted that some of the most commonly used alienation scales are not highly correlated. His explanation is that these relationships are not entirely linear; he further mentions that non-linearity and skewedness are common in studies of social problems.

The responses to the alienation scale in the present study were skewed to the extent that most respondents were non-alienated. The alienation scores ranged from a low of 35 to a high of 64, with the largest possible range being between 18 and 72. The mean score in the alienation scale was 48.195. The higher the score, the lower the level of alienation.

There is some evidence to suggest that the social integration measures could be evaluating different aspects of the same phenomenon, as both of the measures are significantly correlated with socioeconomic status (Table 4).

These statistically significant correlations lend some credence to the validity of these measures, as other authors have noted that there is a positive relationship between a lack of social integration (or a high level of alienation) and low socioeconomic status (Srole, 1956) (Bell, 1957).

Confidence was placed in the measures of social integration because of the suggestion that alienation and social integration exist on at least two levels. Holian (1972) states:

> . . . alienation is a global type of concept having two main axes. Along one axis are the abstract forms of alienation as initially proposed by Seeman. The other axis consists of the various levels of society from which a person can experience feelings of alienation (p. 123).

Dean's alienation scale, which comprises the dimensions delineated by Seeman (1959), is described as a

Table 4

Spearman Correlations between Socioeconomic Status and the Two Social Integration Measures

	SES
Alienation	.258*
Number of organizations	.255
	(n=164)

Note: Each of the above correlations are statistically significant at the .001 level of confidence.

* a high score on the alienation scale refers to a low level of alienation.

measure of alienation from one or more aspects of the overall society, whereas the number of organizations belonged to is thought to be a measure of alienation from, or integration into, the immediate social setting. For example, a person may be alienated from the world political situation but may be highly integrated with his family or his work group. It is felt by this writer, therefore, that the alienation scale and the number of organizations belonged to, measure two relatively distinct dimensions of social integration.

Reliability of Social Integration Measures

The alienation scale is comprised of three subscales, each measuring a different dimension of alienation. The intercorrelations among these three subscales, namely, powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation, are shown in the top half of Table 5. The bottom half of Table 5 presents the split-half correlations within each of these alienation dimensions.

The intercorrelations among the three measures of alienation dimensions parallel those found by Holian (1972), and suggest that the three subscales are, to some extent, measuring the same thing. The split-half correlations demonstrating the relationships within measures of alienation dimensions suggest a moderately high reliability, particularly with respect to normlessness and social isolation. The split-half correlation for the powerlessness dimension of alienation was less pronounced, but still highly statistically

Table 5

Intercorrelations Among and Within the Alienation Dimensions

	P	N	SI	A
Powerlessness (P)	1.000	.426	.392	.725
Normlessness (N)		1.000	.426	.810
Social Isolation (SI)			1.000	.768
Alienation (A)				1.000
				(n=164)

	Split-half correlations
Powerlessness	.326
Normlessness	.489
Social Isolation	.434
	(n=164)

Note: All correlations in both halves of the table are statistically significant at the .001 level of confidence (Spearman r).

significant.

ANALYSIS OF SPORT AWARENESS

Respondents' awareness of sport was determined in three different ways: the way in which respondents defined the word "sport"; the types of activities that were brought to mind when they heard the word "sport"; and by their score on a "sport saliency" test.

Respondents were asked the question: What does the word "sport" mean to you? A maximum number of two meanings per respondent were recorded (Q. 16). Of the entire sample, two people were unable to give a personal definition of the word "sport".

On the basis of the personal meaning of the word sport, a set of seven categories was developed for this variable. The frequency distribution for these categories is shown in Table 6.

Not only did nearly all of the respondents know enough about sport to attempt a personal definition of the word; there was also considerable consensus in how they defined the word. Most of the respondents stated that sport was a form of physical activity, frequently involving competition, which gives pleasure to the participant. This definition is not markedly different from the standard denotation of the term. Webster's dictionary defines sport as "physical activity engaged in for pleasure" (1965, p. 846).

Table 6

Personal Definitions of the Word "Sport"

Definition Category	Meaning Mentioned First		Meaning Mentioned Second		Totals
	Number of Mentions	%	Number of Mentions	%	
Physical Activity	116	70.7	6	3.7	122
A Form of Game	14	8.5	14	8.5	28
Competition	16	9.8	39	23.8	55
Health Improvement	6	3.7	13	7.3	19
Fun, Pleasure	9	5.5	50	29.9	59
Fair Play	1	0.6	2	1.2	3
Tension Release	0	0.0	19	11.6	19
	(n=162)		(n=143)		

To further measure sport awareness, respondents were asked to list the types of activities they thought of when they heard the word "sport" (Q. 17). Only three activities per respondent were recorded. The most frequently mentioned activities in this category are listed in Table 7.

All respondents were able to name at least one type of physical activity that they considered a sport. Three respondents were unable to name two activities and ten respondents could not name three activities that they thought of as sports.

The activities most frequently mentioned as sports are highly organized team activities: football, hockey, baseball and basketball. Sports which emphasize individual skills such as swimming, golf, and tennis are mentioned much less often.

A third measure of sport awareness was the "sport saliency index" (Q.'s 85-90 Appendix B), which tested general sports knowledge. The results of this test are displayed in Table 8.

The responses listed in Table 8 reveal that a high percentage of respondents were able to correctly answer the first four questions dealing with a knowledge of local and national teams. Answers to the last two questions were more obscure, and as a result provided respondents with much greater difficulty.

Table 7

Activities Respondents Think of When They Hear the Word "Sport"*

(n=164)

Activity	Mentioned First Number of Mentions	Mentioned First %	Mentioned Second Number of Mentions	Mentioned Second %	Mentioned Third Number of Mentions	Mentioned Third %	Totals
Football	46	28.0	48	29.3	23	14.0	117
Hockey	40	24.4	39	23.8	23	14.0	102
Baseball	22	13.4	20	12.2	31	18.9	73
Basketball	9	5.5	13	7.9	11	6.7	33
Swimming	7	4.3	6	3.7	9	4.9	22
Track	11	6.7			9	4.9	20
Soccer			5	3.0	13	7.9	18
Golf			9	5.5	8	4.3	17
Tennis					12	7.3	12
Skiing			5	3.0			5

* All sports required at least 5 mentions to be included in the table

Table 8

Results of the Sport Saliency Test

Questions	Correct Answers		Incorrect Answers	
	N	%	N	%
Do you know the name of Edmonton's professional football team?	149	90.9	15	9.1
Do you know the name of Edmonton's junior hockey team?	128	78.0	36	22.0
Do you know the name of Canada's only major league baseball team?	126	76.8	38	23.2
Do you know the name of Toronto's professional hockey team?	141	86.0	23	14.0
Do you know who won the Schenley award in the C.F.L. in 1971?	23	14.0	141	86.0
Do you know who was the first Canadian to win a gold medal in the Olympics?	2	1.2	162	98.8

(n=164)

ANALYSIS OF SPORT INTEREST

Respondents' interest in sport was evaluated in three different ways: the degree to which individuals considered themselves to be sports fans; the extent to which individuals had developed team sport loyalties; and the extent to which individuals admired sports performers.

Respondents were requested to rate themselves according to the degree that they considered themselves to be sports fans (Q. 15). The distribution of responses on this question are shown in Table 9.

The figures in Table 9 suggest that more than 80 per cent of the sample considered themselves to be at least moderate sports fans, while two-fifths of the sample could be considered staunch sports fans.

Team Loyalties

Respondents were requested to list their favorite sports teams, with up to three favorite teams per respondent accepted (Q.s 33-35). The majority of respondents (132) mentioned one favorite sports team, while 99 respondents mentioned two favorite teams and 56 respondents mentioned three favorite teams. The names of the most frequently mentioned favorite sports teams are presented in Table 10.

All of the teams mentioned in Table 10 are either hockey or football teams. There were 99 mentions of hockey teams and 90 mentions of football teams. Nearly one-half

Table 9

The Degree to which Respondents Consider Themselves to be Sports Fans

Not at all	Somewhat	Very much
31 (18.4%)	67 (41.4%)	66 (40.2%) (n=164)

Table 10

Respondents Favorite Sports Teams*

Team	Sport	Mentioned First	Mentioned Second	Mentioned Third	Totals
Edmonton Eskimos	Football	34	23	8	65
Boston Bruins	Hockey	20	12	0	32
Montreal Canadians	Hockey	15	9	0	24
Edmonton Oil Kings	Hockey	5	0	5	10
Calgary Stampeders	Football	5	5	0	10
A Local High School Team	Football	5	5	0	10
New York Rangers	Hockey	7	0	0	7
** A Community Team	Hockey	6	0	0	6
Regina Roughriders	Football	5	0	0	5

* A team required at least 5 mentions for inclusion in the table.

** This listing means the respondent mentioned a hockey team in his community: For example a bantam or a midget team.

(48%) of the teams listed are teams of the community in which the research was conducted, and all but 20 per cent of the mentioned teams are Canadian teams.

In order to further understand the phenomenon of sports team loyalties, the respondents were asked why they chose certain sports teams as favorites. Responses on this question are shown in Table 11.

Respondents appeared to select their favorite sports teams for one of three major reasons; either because the team represented their community or country, or because they admired excellence in the team as a whole or in some of the individual players.

The "Sport Hero"

A further dimension of sport interest is that of the "sport hero". In this connection, respondents were asked if there was a particular sports figure that they especially admired. Respondents were asked for a first and second choice on this question (Q.s 36, 39). Responses to this question are shown in Table 12. It is important to note that the first and second choices are combined in this table; for example the 36 mentions for Bobby Orr include 30 first mentions and 6 second mentions.

It is apparent from the figures in Table 12 that respondents' sports heroes are predominantly male, Canadian, caucasian, hockey players who personify establishment values. The sports figures selected were categorized into one of

Table 11

Respondents Reasons for Choosing
Favorite Sports Teams

Categories	Number of Mentions*
Home Team	101
Excellent Team	80
Like Some of the Players	57
A Canadian Team	33
Underdogs	12
Have Seen Them in Person	3

* These are combined scores, some respondents offered more than one reason.

Table 12

An Analysis of Responses to Questions Pertaining to the Sports Hero

Hero	Mentions	Sport	Sex	Race	Nationality	Hero Type
Bobby Orr	36	Hockey	M	C	Can.	R
Gordie Howe	13	Hockey	M	C	Can.	R
Nancy Greene-Raine	12	Skiing	F	C	Can.	R
Karen Magnusson	11	Skating	F	C	Can.	R
Bobby Hull	8	Hockey	M	C	Can.	R
Jean Belliveau	8	Hockey	M	C	Can.	R
Ken Dryden	6	Hockey	M	C	Can.	R
Muhammed Ali	6	Boxing	M	N	Am.	S
Frank Mahavolich	5	Hockey	M	C	Can.	R
Dave Keon	4	Hockey	M	C	Can.	R
Phil Esposito	4	Hockey	M	C	Can.	R
Russ Jackson	4	Football	M	C	Can.	R
Jean Claude Killy	4	Skiing	M	C	French	R
Elaine Tanner	3	Swimming	F	C	Can.	R
Babe Ruth	3	Baseball	M	C	Am.	R
Pele	3	Soccer	M	N	Brazil	R
Wilt Chamberlain	3	Basketball	M	N	Am.	R
Rusty Staub	3	Baseball	M	C	Am.	R

* Only those sports figures mentioned at least 3 times are included in the table.

Klapp's (1969) three hero types; namely reinforcing, seductive or transcendent. The classification of the sports figures into "hero types" was based on the information conveyed by the mass media, in other words, the category assignment reflected the athlete's public image. In their private lives some of these sports figures may conduct themselves in a manner that is less than exemplary, but their public image suggests that they support the dominant cultural values.

Respondents were also asked to briefly explain why they admired the sports performers they had selected. Where respondents selected two sports heroes, they were asked their reasons for both choices (Q.s 37 and 40). Their responses were coded into the categories shown in Table 13.

Overwhelmingly, it appears that respondents selected sports heroes because of their (the heroes) outstanding ability in the sport.

One step further was taken in the analysis of the sports hero by asking respondents if there was a particular sports performer that they wished to be like (Q. 41). The purpose of this question was to gain additional insight into the intensity with which respondents identified with sports figures. Slightly more than 50 per cent of the respondents stated that there were no sports performers that they wished to be like. A list of the sports heroes mentioned in this connection is presented in Table 14.

An examination of Table 14 reveals that the kind of

Table 13

Respondents Rationale for Selecting Sports Heroes

Categories	Reason for First Hero Mentioned	Reason for Second Hero Mentioned	Totals
Ability	108	88	196
Personality	7	1	8
Style	3	0	3
Like the Sport	2	1	3
Like the Team	1	1	2
Youth of the Hero	1	1	2

Table 14

Sports Figures that Respondents Wished to be Like

	Mentions	Sport	Sex	Race	Nationality	Hero Type
Bobby Orr	13	Hockey	M	C	Can.	R
Nancy Greene-Raine	10	Skiing	F	C	Can.	R
Karen Magnusson	5	Skating	F	C	Can.	R
Elaine Tanner	3	Swimming	F	C	Can.	R
Willie Mays	3	Baseball	M	N	Am.	R
Wilt Chamberlain	3	Basketball	M	N	Am.	R
Mohammed Ali	2	Boxing	M	N	Am.	S
Bobby Hull	2	Hockey	M	C	Can.	R
Ken Dryden	2	Hockey	M	C	Can.	R
Gordie Howe	2	Hockey	M	C	Can.	R
Betsy Clifford	2	Skiing	F	C	Can.	R

Note: Only athletes with at least two mentions are included in the table.

male hero mentioned most often in this regard is a Canadian hockey player, while the female sports figures mentioned were either skiers, figure skaters or swimmers. All male respondents selected male athletes, and all but three female respondents chose female athletes.

Male respondents were more cosmopolitan in their choices in that they frequently chose non-Canadian athletes. Robinson (1970) has noted that males are more attuned to the sports information that is conveyed by the mass media, consequently, males are more likely than females to be aware of sports performers in other countries.

ANALYSIS OF SPORT INVOLVEMENT

Three levels of sport involvement were considered in this study: primary involvement refers to the actual sports participation; secondary involvement refers to attendance at sports events; and tertiary involvement refers to following sports events through the mass media and conversing about sport.

Primary Sport Involvement

Nearly 60 per cent of the respondents stated that they liked to participate in sport very much, while only 10 per cent said that they did not like participating in sport at all (Q. 18). These results are shown in Table 15.

The percentage distribution of responses concerning the degree of sports participation closely corresponds to

Table 15

The Degree to Which Respondents say They Like Participating in Sport

Very Much	Somewhat	Not at all
98	49	17
(59.8%)	(29.9%)	(10.4%)
		(n=164)

respondents expressed attitudes towards sport participation. This is indicated in Table 16, where more than 60 per cent of the sample claimed to participate in sport more than once a week (Q. 20).

Table 17 displays the favorite participant sports that were mentioned by respondents (Q. 19).

The majority of respondents (88.4%) stated that when they did participate in sport, it was with someone else. These other participants were usually either friends (72.0%) or family (15.9%).

Secondary Sport Involvement

Although secondary involvement in sport was defined as attendance at sports events, the operational definition as to what constituted a sports event was whatever the respondent defined it as being. Consequently attendance at a sports event could range from watching their son play a bantam football game up to watching the Grey Cup in person. The frequency with which respondents said they go out to watch sports events is presented in Table 18 (Q. 27).

Tertiary Sport Involvement

Respondents were asked to report how often they watched television in both summer and winter and they were asked how often they watched sports on television in both summer and winter (Q. 47). Television watching in this study ranged from 0 to 30 hours per week in the summer, and from

Table 16

Respondents Frequency of Sports Participation

	N	%
Never	17	10.4
Less than once a year	6	3.7
More than once a year Less than once a month	10	6.1
More than once a month Less than once a week	28	17.1
More than once a week Less than once a day	68	41.5
At least once a day	35	21.3
		(n=164)

Table 17

Respondents Favorite Participant Sports*

Sport	Number of Mentions	%
Baseball	23	14.0
Hockey	20	12.2
Swimming	17	10.4
Football	16	9.8
Basketball	15	9.1
Golf	10	6.1
Skiing	10	6.1
Tennis	9	5.4
Volleyball	6	3.7
Track	5	3.0
		(n=131)

* A sport required at least five mentions to be included in the table.

Table 18

Respondents Frequency of Attendance at "Sports Events"

	N	%
Never	21	12.8
Less than once a year	9	7.3
More than once a year Less than once a month	38	23.2
More than once a month Less than once a week	68	38.4
More than once a week	28	18.3
		(n=164)

0 to 40 hours per week in the winter. The mean number of hours spent watching television per week was 8.83 in the summer and 14.11 in the winter. The ranges for watching sports on television were from 0 to 10 hours a week in the summer, and from 0 to 12 hours a week in the winter. The mean number of hours spent watching sports on television per week was 2.72 in the summer and 3.64 in the winter. It is estimated that approximately 15 hours of sport are televised per week in the winter and about 12 hours per week in the summer in Edmonton. This does not include certain times in the year when there is a greater concentration of sport on television. During Stanley Cup playoffs and football playoffs the number of hours per week of sport would be greatly increased.

The televised sports attractions that are watched most often are displayed in Table 19.

The two major reasons expressed for picking a favorite televised sports show were variety (39.0%) and the fact that they liked the particular sport (52.4%). The primary appeal of the "Wide World of Sport" show was that it showed so many different and unusual sports events.

Respondents were asked to name their favorite television sports broadcaster (if they had one); the results of this question are shown in Table 20. No distinction was made between those who announce sports events and those who only give daily sports news broadcasts (Q. 52).

Table 19

Respondents Favorite TV Sports Shows*

	N	%
"Wide World of Sports"	57	34.8
NHL Hockey	43	26.2
Football	31	18.9
"Sports Beat '72"	5	3.0
Other (Such as baseball, golf, etc.)	24	14.9
		(n=160)

* A show required 3% of the total responses to be included in the table.

Table 20

Respondents Favorite Television Sports Announcer

	N	%
No favorite	114	69.5
Bill Hewitt	28	17.1
Howard Cosell	11	6.7
Other*	11	6.7
		(n=164)

* No announcer in the "other" category got as much as a 3% response.

Having conducted all of the interviews personally, the writer is inclined to believe that the rather high percentage of "no favorite" responses, was primarily due to the inability of many respondents to think of a sports broadcaster off hand, rather than it being a case of respondents having difficulty in selecting only one broadcaster from a number that appealed to them.

Respondents reported that they listened to sports on the radio an average of .90 hours a week (Q. 54). It is estimated that approximately 12 hours of sport per week are available on Edmonton radio stations. A substantial number (31.7%), stated that they never listened to sport on the radio. As was the case with television, a considerable number of respondents had no favorite radio sports broadcaster. This result is shown in Table 21.

The radio sports broadcasters with the most number of mentions were local rather than national personalities; however, many of the respondents did not have a favorite sports broadcaster.

The percentage distribution showing how often respondents read about sports in magazines (Q. 58) is depicted in Table 22.

Sixty-four per cent of the sample said they read about sport in magazines more than once a month. The magazines utilized for sports coverage are listed in Table 23.

Some respondents preferred sports coverage in a

Table 21

Respondents Favorite Radio Sports Broadcaster

	N	%
No Favorite	117	71.3
Bryan Hall	38	23.2
Wes Montgomery	6	3.7
Other*	3	1.8
		(n=164)

Table 22

Respondents Frequency of Reading about Sport in Magazines

	N	%
Never	14	8.5
Less than once a year	13	7.9
More than once a year Less than once a month	32	19.5
More than once a month Less than once a week	59	36.0
More than once a week Less than once a day	43	26.2
At least once a day	3	1.8
		(n=164)

Table 23

Respondents Favorite Magazine for Sports Coverage

	N	%
Sports Illustrated	51	31.1
Weekend	26	15.9
Time	18	11.0
Canadian Magazine	15	9.1
Specialty Magazines*	17	10.4
		(n=127)

Note: An individual magazine required at least 9% response to be included in the table.

* This category refers to sports magazines which deal only with one sport, for example Golf Digest, Ski, Ring Magazine, etc.

concentrated form while others derived their sports information from sections within general interest magazines. Their difference in reading habits concerning sport seem to relate to the extent to which they considered themselves as sports fans. This relationship is presented in Table 24.

There is a clear indication in Table 24 that those respondents who most considered themselves to be sport fans were the ones who were most likely to read sport oriented magazines.

Respondents mentioned two major reasons as to why they read about sports in certain magazines: (a) Good coverage of sport was mentioned by 28 per cent of the sample as a reason for choosing a specific magazine; (b) 30 per cent of the sample stated that they read about sports in a particular magazine simply because it was readily available.

Table 25 contains the percentage distributions relating to how often respondents read about sports in newspapers (Q. 61).

The fact that 70 per cent of the respondents said they read about sport in the newspapers more than once a week suggests there is considerable interest in sport in our society.

Where newspapers are concerned, nearly all respondents (95.7%) obtained their sports information from the Edmonton Journal; however, this does not necessarily mean they preferred the sports coverage in this paper over that in other

Table 24

Differences in Sports Magazine Reading Habits According to Degree of Self Identification as Being a Sports Fan

Degree of Self Identification as Sports Fan	Magazines Read for Sports Content				
	Sports Illustrated	Sport Specialty, e.g., Ring, Ski, Golf Digest, etc.	Time	Weekend	Canadian
Very much	33	10	5	9	4
Somewhat	15	5	7	15	8
Not at all	3	2	6	2	3
					(n=127)*

X^2=45.95 Significant at .001 level of confidence.

* Only magazines with at least 10 mentions are included in the table.

Table 25

Respondents Frequency of Reading About Sport in Newspapers

Frequency	N	%
Never	10	6.1
Less than once a year	3	1.8
More than once a year Less than once a month	17	10.4
More than once a month Less than once a week	21	12.2
More than once a week Less than once a day	32	20.1
At least once a day	81	49.4
		(n=164)

papers because 89.0 per cent of the sample said that it was the only newspaper that was readily available to them.

A large majority of respondents (89.0%) stated that they did not have a favorite sports writer. Wayne Overland of the Edmonton Journal and Jim Coleman of the Southam Press news agency each received 3.7 per cent of the total responses on this question.

Respondents were asked to describe how satisfied or dissatisfied they were with the way sport is covered in the mass media (Q. 67). The distribution of responses to this question is shown in Table 26.

Respondents were requested to rank various sources of sports information according to which they used most, liked most and believed most (Q.s 44-46). These results are reported in Table 27.

The figures in Table 27 suggest that while the respondents use the mass media most frequently to obtain sports information, their major preference would be to see a sports event in person. Most of the mass media are rated quite low on believability. Respondents seemed to feel that the most credible source of sports information was to witness the event in person. Going by the number of times the source was mentioned first, the second most credible source of sports information was personal contacts, followed closely by television. The other sources of sports information seemed to be viewed as having low credibility. This finding suggests

Table 26

Respondents Degree of Expressed Satisfaction with the Coverage of Sport in the Mass Media

Degree of Satisfaction	N	%
Very Satisfied	4	2.4
Satisfied	108	65.9
Neutral	20	12.2
Dissatisfied	24	14.6
Very Dissatisfied	8	4.9
		(n=164)

Table 27

Respondents' Attitudes Toward Various Sources of Sport Information

Sources of Sports Information	Use Most			Like Most			Believe Most		
	Mean Rank	Modal Rank	Times Mentioned First %	Mean Rank	Modal Rank	Times Mentioned First %	Mean Rank	Modal Rank	Times Mentioned First %
TV	2.04	1	50.0	2.37	2	24.4	2.85	2	13.4
Newspapers	3.07	3	19.5	4.20	4	5.5	4.64	4	3.0
Radio	3.30	2	6.7	4.14	4	3.7	4.11	3	0.6
Personal Contacts	4.25	5	11.0	3.90	2	11.6	4.26	7	15.2
Attendance at Sports Events	4.95	6	5.5	2.75	1	48.8	2.07	1	60.4
Magazines	4.38	5	6.1	4.60	6	4.3	4.53	6	4.9
Books	5.98	7	1.2	6.03	7	1.8	5.32	7	3.0

(n=164)

that the source of sports information is seen as more credible, the more the respondent is involved with the source: first is personal involvement with the source in the form of attendance at the event; second is discussions with personal contacts; third is watching the event on television.

The category of personal contacts requires further elucidation here; this category was included in the hope that it would provide some insight into the role of opinion leadership as it relates to the circulation of attitudes toward sport. It was expected that other persons with whom the respondent discussed sport matters, would be viewed as being more believable than other sources of sports information. The findings as reported in Table 27 are equivocal; the personal contact category had a modal rank of 7, yet 15.2 per cent of the sample ranked it first as a credible source of sports information. The polarization of responses in the personal contact category is most likely related to who the personal contacts are. Respondents whose personal contacts are thought to be credible are more apt to use them as sources of sports information.

The same sources of sports information used in Table 27, except for books and attendance at sports events, were evaluated on a number of dimensions which related to how respondents thought they communicated sports information (Q's 68-75). Respondents were asked simply to evaluate these sources of sports information on a most, least basis; that is, they were asked which source of sports information was the most complete in its coverage of sports and which was the least complete in its sports coverage. These findings are outlined in Table 28.

The figures in Table 28 demonstrate that television is ranked the highest in all categories but one. Based on these specific categories, television is perceived by respondents as being the most effective communicator of sports information. Both magazines and newspapers ranked moderately high on some categories, while radio ranked very low on all categories.

The findings in regard to the personal contacts category again were ambiguous; this is probably indicative of the perceived quality of sports information passed on by the personal contact.

Another avenue of opinion leadership was explored through asking respondents whom they consulted when they were seeking sports information (Q. 76). The percentage distribution pertaining to the people who are consulted for sports information is listed in Table 29.

Approximately 45 per cent of the sample indicated they would go to someone with whom they have a primary group relationship (friend or family) for their sports information.

The high rating of the coach as a source of sports information is probably due to the fact that more then one-half the sample was in school at the time of the survey.

Table 28

Respondents Analysis of Various Sources of Sports Information

Source of Sports Information	Complete		Truthful		Important		Influential		Educational		Ease of Getting Information From		Open or Frank		Involved With	
	Most %	Least %	Most %	Least %	Most %	Least %	Most %	Least %	Most %	Least %	Most %	Least %	Most %	Least %	Most %	Least %
TV	50.0	4.3	50.6	3.7	48.8	4.9	50.0	4.3	44.5	3.7	23.3	8.5	41.5	8.5	52.4	6.1
Newspaper	17.1	12.2	7.3	34.8	14.0	16.5	13.4	18.9	14.0	15.2	29.3	14.6	13.4	29.9	12.2	17.7
Radio	4.9	11.0	1.2	7.3	3.7	17.7	5.5	22.0	1.8	24.4	6.7	32.9	7.9	15.2	3.7	25.0
Personal Contacts	9.1	58.5	24.4	34.8	25.6	26.2	22.0	22.0	15.9	37.2	22.0	27.4	22.0	22.0	24.4	22.0
Magazines	18.9	12.8	15.9	17.7	7.3	32.9	7.9	31.1	23.2	18.3	17.7	15.9	14.0	22.6	7.9	27.4

Table 29

People Whom Respondents Consult for Sports Information

Opinion Leaders	N	%
Friend	24	16.0
Family	41	27.4
Media	32	21.3
Coach	40	26.7
Book	13	8.6
		(n=150)*

* 8.5% of the sample said they never had and probably never would be in the position of seeking sports information.

(The reason for this suggestion is that when the age variable is considered, later in this chapter, there turns out to be a significant difference in age between those who consult a coach in this connection, and those who do not.) The coach would be a logical choice for students to consult, because the role position implies a certain credibility, and expertise.

Informants were further asked to outline the reason for consulting a certain person for sports information (Q. 77). The three main reasons for consulting a particular person were: The person was considered knowledgeable (90.2%); the person was accessible to them (64%); and the person was known to them (12.8%). These expressed reasons for consulting an individual are very close to the textbook definition of what constitutes an opinion leader. An opinion leader is defined as someone who is known to an opinion seeker and who is thought to be credible, attractive and knowledgeable (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955).

Respondents were asked to name the person with whom they had discussed sports, or whom they had heard discuss sports, who they thought was most believable (Q. 78). These results are displayed in Table 30.

These findings are similar to those in the preceding table. This reinforces the point that people are most likely to perceive someone from their primary group as being the most credible disseminators of sports information.

Table 30

Person who is Viewed as Most Credible as a Source of Sports Information

Source of Sports Information	N	%
Friend	19	13.6
Family	45	30.0
Coach	35	23.2
Media Person	41	27.2
Other (Athlete, Book, etc.)	8	6.0
		(n=148)*

* No response=16 9.8%

Table 31 reports the findings on the question of who is felt to have influenced respondents most in their opinions on sport (Q. 80).

It seems that primary group members are the most influential in the formation of sports opinions. This finding coincides with most research on opinion formation in general (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955).

The mass media do not appear to play a major role in influencing the respondents' sports opinions. The media are used frequently as sources of sports information, but they do not appear to be strong opinion leaders.

Sports Conversations

According to Stone (1969), sports conversations are a valuable means of reducing the alienation and anonymity that are common to residents of large urban centers. In fact, Stone (1969) used frequency of sports conversation as an indicator of social integration. In the present study, frequency of sports conversation was examined from two vantage points: the location of the sports conversation; and the other party with whom sport is discussed (Q's 23-24). The overall frequency of sports conversation is reported in Table 32.

More than one-half of the sample reported that they talked about sports at least once a day and more than 80 per cent said they talked about sports more than once a week.

It seems, therefore, that sport in some way touches

Table 31

The Person Who Had Most Influence on Respondents' Sports Opinions

Influencers	N	%
Friend	33	22.0
Family	64	42.6
Coach	35	24.3
Media Person	11	7.4
Other (Athlete, Book, etc.)	7	4.7

No responses=14 8.5%

Table 32

Respondents Frequency of Sport Converstations

Never	Less Than Once a Year	More Than Once a Year, Less Than Once a Month	More Than Once a Month, Less Than Once a Week	More Than Once a Week, Less Than Once a Day	At Least Once a Day
1.8%	0.6%	2.4%	12.8%	28.7%	53.7%
					(n=164)

the lives of most of the respondents.

The frequency of sports conversation, according to the location of the conservation and according to the other party involved in the conversation, is summarized in Table 33.

A large percentage of respondents reported that they talked frequently about sport at home; among those who attend school, more than half said that they talked about sports every day. Most of the sports conversation is carried on between friends or family, sports conversations with strangers were relatively infrequent.

Relating back to the idea of the sports hero, it is rather interesting that nearly 75 percent of the respondents singled out sports figures that they especially admired, yet they tended not to focus on sports heroes in their conversations. Only 10 percent of the respondents stated that they talked about their favorite athletes as often as once per month.

COMBINATION OF SECONDARY AND TERTIARY SPORT INVOLVEMENT

In addition to analyzing sport involvement at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels, there is further data available which represent a combination of the latter two categories. Two questions were concerned with preferences in watching sports events; these questions bridge the secondary and tertiary sport involvement levels because no distinction is made between watching these sports events on television or

Table 33

Respondents Frequency of Sports Conversation According to Location

and Other Party Involved in the Conversation

(n=164)

Location	Never	Less Than Once a Year	More Than Once a Year Less Than Once a Month	More Than Once a Month Less Than Once a Week	More Than Once a Week Less Than Once a Day	At Least Once a Day
School	0.0%	1.1%	4.3%	13.8%	29.8%	51.1%
Home	4.9	1.2	8.5	12.8	38.4	34.1
Work	3.7	5.1	7.7	28.2	21.8	29.5
Public Places	15.7	12.6	24.5	18.9	17.6	10.7
Other Party						
Friends	1.8	1.8	11.0	18.9	29.9	36.6
Family	1.8	3.7	14.0	16.5	31.1	32.9
Strangers	31.7	19.5	22.0	12.8	9.8	4.3

in person (Q's 23-24). The degree to which respondents said they liked watching sports events is shown in Table 34.

The preferred spectator sports mentioned by respondents are listed in Table 35.

The large majority of respondents reported that they liked watching sports events some of the time, and nearly 60 per cent of the sample said they very much liked to watch sporting events. These rather high percentages in favor of watching sports events support the idea that sport is a cultural universal. Because so many people have at least some interest in watching sports events, it seems logical to assume that sport has the potential to be a social integrator.

To a major extent, the two most favorite spectator sports of these respondents are football and hockey. This finding is likely a reflection of the fact that these sports are the most highly developed in the Edmonton area.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND DEGREE OF ASSOCIATION WITH SPORT

We turn now to a consideration of the direction of relationships, looking at the influence of certain independent variables on these measures of sport association: independent variables such as sex, age, socioeconomic status, social integration and alienation.

In this section two multivariate statistical procedures will be used frequently: stepwise multiple regression and

Table 34

The Degree to Which Respondents Like Watching Sports Events

Very Much	Somewhat	Not at all
97 (59.1%)	49 (29.9%)	18 (11.0%)
		(n=164)

Table 35*

Respondents' Favorite Spectator Sports

Sport	N	%
Football	53	32.3
Hockey	51	31.1
Figure Skating	10	6.0
Basketball	9	5.4
Baseball	9	5.4
Soccer	3	1.8
Track	3	1.8
Swimming	3	1.8
Auto Racing	3	1.8
Gymnastics	3	1.8
Other	17	10.8
		(n=164)

* At least three mentions were required for inclusion in the table.

and stepwise discriminant analysis. Both of these statistical procedures show the relationship of an independent variable with a dependent variable while controlling for other independent variables. The ultimate aim of these statistical procedures is to discover the independent variables which are significantly related to the dependent variable, while partialling out the effect of other independent variables.

SEX

A number of hypotheses were formulated which predicted that the variable sex would be an important factor in determining the extent and the manner in which respondents associated with sport. In general terms it was anticipated that males would be more aware, interested and involved in sport than females. (Specific hypotheses pertaining to these dimensions of sport association are listed in Chapter 4).

Sex and Sport Awareness

A stepwise discriminant analysis was carried out on the first meaning of sport mentioned by respondents (Q. 16). Sex was seen as the most important determinant in how respondents defined the word sport. An F score of 6.956 (significant at the .01 level) indicated that males viewed sport as being a form of competition to a significantly greater extent than did females. This finding is in accord with that of Webb (1969) and is in agreement with hypothesis A1 which stated that males will define sport more in terms of competition than will females.

It was also hypothesized (A2) that males would list different activities than would females (Q. 17). This hypothesis was not borne out, as a stepwise discriminant analysis showed that sex did not significantly discriminate between the types of sports activities listed by respondents.

As mentioned in the previous section, one of the main dimensions of sport awareness is "sport saliency", as measured here by the list of questions testing a person's knowledge of sport (Q.s 80-85). Here "sport saliency" is treated as a dependent variable, and a stepwise multiple regression procedure was used to show the relationships between the variable and six independent variables: four personal background variables (sex, age, SES and education level); and two social integration measures (# of organizations belonged to, and alienation scale). The results of this analysis are reported in Table 36.

Of the six independent variables only three contributed significantly to the regression equation: sex, education level and age. Of these three, sex was the most important predictor of the "sport saliency" score. This finding verifies hypothesis A3 which stated that males would score higher on the "sport saliency" measure than females.

SEX AND SPORT INTEREST

It was postulated that males would consider themselves

Table 36

Multiple Regression Analysis of "Sports Saliency"

Beta Weights Sex	 Education Level	 Age	 r^2
-.368*	.296	-.226**	.291
			(n=164)

* Negative sign indicates males are higher on sports saliency than females.

** Negative sign indicates that young respondents are higher on sports saliency than older respondents.

to be sports fans to a greater extent than females (hypothesis B1). A stepwise discriminant analysis demonstrated that sex was after age, the second most important determinant of the degree to which respondents considered themselves to be sports fans. The F ratio for the variable age was 11.003 while the F ratio for the variable sex was 5.358, both are statistically significant at the .01 level. The comparisons between males and females on the degree to which they considered themselves to be sport fans is shown in Table 37.

A brief explanation of the tabular presentation of the discriminant analysis is in order. This statistic works on the basis of comparing categories on the dependent variable with the independent variable categories. Here that comparison is in terms of the proportion of males to females in each dependent variable category. The size of the F ratio indicates the extent to which the independent variable categories differ : the larger the F ratio the greater the difference. Thus the first comparison of the ("very much" and "somewhat") categories in Table 37 shows a moderate difference between the two categories in terms of the respective proportions of males and females. However, the greatest difference among these categories is the very much/not at all comparison. Table 37 shows that all categories differ significantly from each other in their male, female proportions. This finding is in accordance with hypothesis B1 which stated that males would consider themselves to be sports

Table 37

Comparison of Ratings of Self Identification as a Sports Fan, by Sex

Comparison of Sports Fan Categories	F Ratio
Very much/Somewhat	3.443
Very much/Not at all	15.173
Somewhat/Not at all	8.429

All F ratios in this table are statistically significant at the .01 level.

fans to a greater extent than would females.

Sex and Team Loyalties

It was predicted that males would be more likely to have sports team loyalties than would females (hypothesis B2). Stone (1970, p. 411) stated that "women don't form team loyalties until adulthood, if they form them at all". Stone was referring primarily to enduring types of team loyalties rather than to the ephemeral type of team loyalty associated with following a high school team. This hypothesis could not be verified in this study, as the result of a stepwise discriminant analysis showed that the differences between males and females on this question were not statistically significant.

Sex was the second most important determinant, after age, of the type of sport played by respondents' favorite team. Age was the most important discriminant with an F ratio of 9.489 followed by sex with an F ratio of 4.164 and SES with an F ratio of 3.425. All of these statistics are significant at the .01 level of confidence. The biggest difference between males and females on this question is in their selection of hockey and football teams. Males were more likely to select a hockey team over a football team, while the opposite was true for females (F score = 5.846, significant at the .01 level of confidence).

It was also hypothesized that males would have a longer association with sports teams than would females (hypothesis B3). However, while a stepwise multiple regression analysis revealed a trend in the expected direction, the relationship was not statistically significant. Therefore, hypothesis B3 was rejected.

Sex and Sports Heroes

It was predicted that sports hero worship would be more pronounced among males than among females (hypothesis B4). There was some support for this hypothesis; however, the relationship was not statistically significant at the .01 level of confidence (chi square = 3.422 df = 1). Therefore, hypothesis B4 was rejected.

Sex was found to be the most important determinant of the sex of the sports hero selected. As one might predict, males tended to select male sports heroes and females tended to select female sports heroes. The differences between sexes are highly statistically significant (F = 27.594, significant at the .001 level of confidence).

Sex was also found to be an important determinant of the nationality of the sports hero chosen. Males were more likely to select American sports heroes than were females (F = 9.977, significant at the .01 level of confidence). This finding accords with a point expressed earlier, that males are more conversant with the sports information carried by the mass media, consequently they are more aware of athletes in other countries.

Finally, it was discovered that sex was the most important variable in relating to how often respondents say they talk about sports heroes. These results are presented in Table 38.

The figures in Table 38 suggest that the differences between sexes in their frequency of conversation are most pronounced among respondents who never talk about sports heroes and those who talk about sports heroes at least once a week. Female respondents tended to talk about sports heroes less frequently than did male respondents. This finding lends further credence to the theory that sport plays a more central role in the lives of males than it does for females.

RESULTS PERTAINING TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SEX AND VARIOUS TYPES OF SPORT INVOLVEMENT

It was predicted that the variable sex would be an influential factor in determining the respondents frequency of sports participation; frequency of attendance at sports events; frequency of using the mass media for sports information; and frequency of sports conversations.

Sex and Primary Sport Involvement

An analysis of the favorite participant sports of respondents shows that football, hockey and golf are chosen almost exclusively by males, while basketball, swimming and tennis were selected predominantly by females. These results

Table 38

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis Comparing Males and Females on Frequency of Conversation About Sports Heroes

Comparison of* Frequencies of Conversations About Sports Heroes	F Ratio
Never/More than once a month Less than once a week	5.681
Never/At least once a week	11.584
Less than once a year/At least once a week	4.121
More than once a year Less than once a month/At least once a week	7.288

All F scores are statistically significant at .01 level.

* Comparisons between categories are shown only if statistically significant.

are shown in Table 39.

It was hypothesized (C1) that males would participate in sport more frequently than would females (Q. 20). This hypothesis was not validated, as a stepwise discriminant analysis showed that sex was not significantly related to frequency of sports participation.

A stepwise discriminant analysis revealed that females were inclined to participate in sports with the family to a significantly greater extent than males (F = 7.687 significant at the .001 level of confidence). This sports participation with the family does vary, however, according to the social class of the female respondent: 36.0% of the upper-class females participated with the family, compared with 22.2% of the middle-class females and 12.5% of the lower-class females.

Sex and Secondary Sport Involvement

Hypothesis C2 predicted that males would attend sports events more frequently than females (Q. 27). This hypothesis was rejected on the basis that a stepwise discriminant analysis revealed no significant differences between males and females on their frequency of attendance at sports events.

The sex of the respondent was the most important discriminant variable of those considered here, in terms of selecting a favorite spectator sport. The difference is most noticeable between respondents who mentioned figure

Table 39

Respondents Favorite Participant Sports According to Sex

Favorite Participant Sport	Female	Male	Totals
Football	2	14	16
Hockey	3	17	20
Basketball	12	3	15
Baseball	9	14	23
Golf	3	7	10
Tennis	8	1	9
Skiing	6	4	10
Swimming	14	3	17
			(n=120)*

* A sport required at least 6 mentions to be included in the table.

skating and those who mentioned hockey. All respondents who chose figure skating were female and most respondents choosing hockey were male (F = 16.259, significant at .001 level of confidence).

Sex and Tertiary Sport Involvement

It was postulated that males would use the mass media for sports information more frequently than would females (hypothesis C3). Considering first the use of TV (Q. 47), a stepwise multiple regression analysis showed that sex was the most important predictor of how many hours per week a respondent watched sports on TV in the winter months (Beta weight = .307). A stepwise multiple regression analysis also revealed that sex, with a Beta weight of -.212, was the second ~~most~~ important predictor (after age) of the number of hours of sport watched per week in the summer (a Beta weight of -.212 is moderately high in multiple regression analysis indicating that this variable adds significantly to the regression equation). In both cases the negative sign means that it is males who watched the most sports on TV.

Sex was also the most important predictor of how many hours per week a respondent listened to sport on the radio (Q. 54). A stepwise multiple regression analysis revealed a Beta weight of -.216 for the independent variable sex, indicating that males listened to sports on the radio significantly more often than did females.

Sex was found not to be an important determinant of how often respondents read about sports in magazines (Q. 58). A stepwise discriminant analysis yielded no significant differences between the sexes on this question. Although there was no difference between sexes on how often they read about sports in magazines, females predominantly chose widely circulated, general-interest magazines like Time, Weekend or Canadian for their sports information. Males evidently have a deeper interest in sport as they are more likely to read Sports Illustrated, or a specialty magazine that concentrates on a single sport.

Males differed significantly from females on how often they read about sports in the newspapers (Q. 61). This sex difference is most pronounced when comparing respondents who read about sports in the newspaper every day and those who never or rarely read about sports in the newspaper. Males read about sports in newpapers more often than females do. The stepwise discriminant analysis showing these differences is presented in Table 40.

The preceding analysis of how often males and females use the mass media as sources of sports information indicates that males used TV, radio and newspapers as sources of sports information significantly more often than females did. There is no statistically significant difference between sexes in their frequency of using magazines for sports information. These findings lend some credence to

Table 40

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis Comparing Males and Females on Their Frequency of Reading About Sports in the Newspaper

Frequency Comparisons*	F Ratio
Everyday/Never	4.691
Everyday/Less than once a month	10.272

All F scores are statistically significant at the .01 level.

* Comparisons between categories are shown only if statistically significant.

hypothesis C2 which stated that males would use the mass media for sports information more frequently than females would.

An interesting difference between the sexes relates to their preferences of sports TV shows (Q. 48). Females preferred a sports TV show like "Wide World of Sport" to a significantly greater extent than they preferred watching a live sporting event on TV like hockey (F = 22.395, significant at .001 level of confidence) or football (F = 4.379, significant at .01 level of confidence). These results indicate that males prefer live sports on TV like hockey and football as compared with TV sports shows like "Wide World of Sport".

Sex and Opinion Leadership

There were no specific hypotheses relating to the relationship between sex and opinion leadership. There were, however, some findings which are worthy of mention. Females sought sports information from a family member to a significantly greater extent than did males, whereas males were more likely to get their information from friends or from the mass media (Q. 76). Table 41 presents the F matrix for the stepwise discriminant analysis which highlights the differences between sexes in this regard.

In a related question, females tended to find family members as being the most believable among those they had discussed sport with, or among those they had heard discuss

Table 41

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis Comparing Males and Females on Where They Seek Sports Information

Comparison of Sources of Sports Information	F Ratio
Friend/Family	4.336
Friend/Media	5.018
Family/Media	12.850

All F scores are statistically significant at the .01 level.

sport, while males found the coach a more credible source of sports information (coach/family F score is 25.271, significant at the .001 level of confidence).

Sex and Sports Conversations

Hypothesis C1 which stated that males would converse about sport more frequently than females was not verified by the discriminant analysis. There were no significant differences between males and females on their overall frequency of sports conversations, or on their frequency of sports conversation in any of the designated situational contexts. The only area in which sex was an important factor was in the category of how often respondents talked about sports with their friends. Males talked sports with their friends significantly more often than females did. This finding is shown in Table 42. Stone (1969) suggests that females confine much of their sports conversation to their immediate family in hopes that these conversations may enhance family cohesion.

AGE

A number of hypotheses were advanced which predicted that the variable age would be an influential factor in determining a respondent's association with sport. It was thought that older respondents would be less directly involved with sport than younger respondents.

Table 42

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis Comparing Males and Females on Their Frequency of Sports Conversation with Friends

Comparison of Frequency of Talking About Sports with Friends	F Ratio
Once a day/Less than once a month	9.628
Once a day/More than once a month Less than once a week	6.813
Once a day/More than once a week Less than once a day	7.687

All F scores are statistically significant at the .001 level.

Age and Sport Awareness

There were no specific hypotheses made concerning the relationship between any of the dimensions of sport awareness and age; however, the statistical analysis revealed some unexpected findings which bear on this relationship.

A stepwise discriminant analysis revealed that age was a key discriminator in connection with respondents second meaning of the word sport (Q. 16). From the first meaning of sport the majority of respondents (70%) described sport as a form of physical activity; however, on the second meaning of sport, the definitions showed more diversity. Respondents who described sport as being a relaxer or a tension reliever were significantly older than respondents who chose any of the other categories. This result is shown in Table 43.

It is also noted that age was a significant predictor of the sport saliency dimension of sport awareness. A Beta weight of -.226 indicated that age contributes significantly to the multiple regression equation. The negative sign means that younger respondents scored higher on sport saliency than older respondents.

AGE AND SPORT INTEREST

Age was significantly related to the extent to which a respondent classified himself as a sports fan (Q. 15). These results are shown in Table 44.

F

Table 43

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis Comparing Personal Definitions of Sport by Age

Personal Definition of Sport Comparisons	F Ratio
Tension Release/A Game	16.093
Tension Release/Competition	8.322
Tension Release/Health	10.942
Tension Release/Pleasure	17.525

All F scores are statistically significant at the .001 level.

Table 44

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis Comparing

Self Identification as a Sports Fan,

by Age

Comparison of Sport Fan Categories	F Ratio
Somewhat/Not at all	15.616
Very much/Not at all	20.770

The F ratio for the comparison of the very much/somewhat category was not statistically significant.

The F scores in the table are both statistically significant at the .001 level.

Table 44 indicates that younger respondents considered themselves to be sports fans to a significantly greater extent than older respondents did.

Age and Team Loyalties

Age was also found to be an important discriminant of sports team loyalties (Q.s 33-35). Respondents who chose hockey teams were significantly younger than those who chose football teams (F = 4.737, significant at the .01 level) or those who did not have a favorite sports team (F = 18.673, significant at the .001 level).

As might be anticipated, age was found to be a primary predictor of length of association with sports teams (Q.s 33-35). A stepwise multiple regression analysis showed that age and education level were the only important predictors of length of association with sports teams. The older the respondent and the higher the education of the respondent the longer the association. This fact is contaminated to some extent by the fact that more than 50 per cent of the sample had not completed their education; therefore, there is a close correspondence between age and education level. These results are shown in Table 45.

Age and Sports Hero Worship

A stepwise discriminant analysis revealed that age was the most important determining factor among the variables considered here, in whether a respondent would select a

Table 45

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis of Length of Association with Favorite Sports Teams

Beta Weights Age	Educational Level	r^2
.293	.176	.185

Variables were required to have an F of 6.81 (.01 level) to be entered in the table.

sports hero (F = 6.995, significant at .01 level). The older the respondent the less likely they would be to mention a sports performer they admired. This finding is in accord with hypothesis D1 which stated that there would be an inverse relationship between the respondents' ages and their decisions to choose a sports hero.

RESULTS PERTAINING TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND VARIOUS TYPES OF SPORT INVOLVEMENT

It was predicted that the variable age would be an influential factor in determining the respondents' frequency of sports participation and frequency of sports conversations.

Age and Primary Sport Involvement

As hypothesized (E1), age was a prime factor in influencing frequency of sports participation (Q. 20). The lower the age, the greater the frequency of sports participation. These results are shown in Table 46.

In Table 46 it can be seen in most cases that the difference in age is greatest when comparing the most extreme frequency categories. As the frequency categories move closer together the difference in age declines.

It was also found that the older the respondent, the more often he participated with the family rather than with friends (F = 12.415, significant at .001 level).

Table 46

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis of Frequency of Sports Participation, by Age

Comparison of Frequency of Participation Categories	F ratio
Never/More than once a Year Less than once a Month	9.467
Never/More than once a month Less than once a week	57.390
Never/More than once a week Less than once a day	59.230
Never/At least once a day	92.279
More than once a year Less than once a month/ More than once a month Less than once a week	6.881
More than once a year Less than once a month/ More than once a week Less than once a day	4.161
More than once a year Less than once a month/At least once a day	15.528
More than once a week Less than once a day/ At least once a day	12.048

All F scores are statistically significant at the .01 level.

Age and Secondary Sport Involvement

There were no hypotheses directed toward the relationship between age and secondary sport involvement, however, there were some findings which may help to bring this relationship into better focus. Age was the most important variable, of those included here, in determining how much respondents liked watching sports events, either on TV or in person (Q. 23). The older the respondent, the less the interest in watching sports events. These results are shown in Table 47.

In Table 47 the F ratio for the very much/somewhat categories was not included, because the differences were not statistically significant.

A significant statistical relationship emerged between age and respondents' preference for watching sports events in person or on TV (Q. 25). The older the respondent, the greater the preference for watching sports on TV (F = 9.923, significant at .001 level). The major reason expressed by respondents who preferred to watch sport on TV was comfort. Rather than fight the crowds and the elements, they would just as soon stay home and watch the action on TV.

Respondents who said they never attended sports events were significantly older than respondents who said they attended sports events with whatever frequency (Q. 27). These results are presented in Table 48.

Table 47

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis of Degree of Interest in Watching Sports Events, by Age

Comparison of Degree of Interest Categories	F Ratio
Very much/Not at all	8.389
Somewhat/Not at all	3.763

Both F scores are statistically significant at the .01 level.

Table 48

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis of Frequency of Attendance at Sports Events, by Age

Comparison of Frequency of Attendance Categories	F Ratio
Never/Less than once a year	8.108
Never/More than once a year Less than once a month	27.639
Never/More than once a month Less than once a week	34.939
Never/More than once a week	35.086

All F scores are statistically significant at the .001 level.

Age and Tertiary Sport Involvement

There were no specific hypotheses dealing with the relationship between age and the utilization of mass media as a source of sports information. The data, however, do indicate that there is a close relationship between these variables.

A stepwise multiple regression analysis revealed that age was an important predictor of the number of hours of sport watched on TV per week (Q. 47). Age was the variable most closely related to the number of hours of sport watched on TV per week in the summer and the second most closely related variable (after sex) of the number of hours of sport watched on TV in the winter. A Beta weight of -.276 (summer) and -.242 (winter) indicates that age contributes significantly to the multiple regression equation in both instances. The younger the respondents, the more they watched sports on TV, in both summer and winter.

Reading about sports in magazines appears to be partially a function of age (Q. 58). Generally, the younger the respondent, the more the tendency to read about sports in magazines, including specific sports magazines and sports sections in general-interest magazines. There is a statistically significant age difference between respondents who never read about sports in magazines and those who read about sports in magazines at least once a week (F = 13.236, significant at the .001 level.

Age and Sports Conversations

Hypothesis E2 predicted that the frequency of sports conversation would increase with advancing age. It was thought that younger respondents would be more directly involved in sport and that older respondents would maintain a contact with sport through their conversations. This hypothesis was not confirmed by the data, as age was not an important determinant of overall frequency of sports conversations.

There was a statistically significant difference in age between respondents who said they talk about sports with friends every day, and those who talk about sports with friends less than once a month. (F = 10.209, significant at the .001 level). The younger the respondent, the greater the tendency to talk about sports with friends.

Age and Opinion Leadership

There is a statistically significant difference in age between respondents who seek sports information from a coach and those who seek sports information from the mass media (F = 20.185, significant at .001 level). Younger respondents were more likely to consult a coach, whereas older respondents were more likely to derive their sports information from someone in the mass media.

SES

Based on the work of Stone (1969) and Loy (1966) it was postulated that respondents from the upper class would be most likely to participate in sports activities; that middle-class respondents would be more involved in sport in a secondary and tertiary way; and that lower-class respondents would not be closely associated with sport.

SES and Sport Awareness

The only hypothesis concerning the relationship between SES and sport awareness was that respondents from both the upper and middle classes would score higher on the sport saliency measure than respondents from the lower class (hypothesis F1). This hypothesis is rejected since the stepwise discriminant analysis failed to show significant differences between SES categories with respect to sport saliency score.

An unanticipated result was that SES was the only independent variable which significantly differentiated between the various types of activities that respondents listed when asked to mention activities they considered to be sports. Basketball was mentioned as a sport by respondents who were predominantly from the upper SES level, while baseball and track were mentioned by informants from the lower SES category. Football and hockey were sports which cut across all class levels. These results are shown in Table 49.

The figures in Table 49 show only moderate differences between basketball and football and between basketball and

Table 49

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis Comparing Activities Thought of when the Word "Sport" is Mentioned, by SES

Comparisons of Activities Thought of as Sports	F Ratio
Basketball/Football	3.023
Basketball/Hockey	3.344
Basketball/Baseball	8.708
Basketball/Track	5.452

All F scores are statistically significant at the .01 level.

hockey. These moderate differences reflect the upper-class orientation toward basketball and the middle-class orientation toward hockey and football. The differences between basketball and baseball and basketball and track are more pronounced which indicates the lower-class orientation toward baseball and track.

SES and Sport Interest

The prediction that respondents from the middle class would have the greatest interest in sport was not supported (hypothesis G1). A stepwise discriminant analysis showed that the differences between social classes in their interest in sport, as measured by question 15, were not statistically significant.

Although differences in sports interest are not significantly different across the sample, there are some discernable differences in sports interest among females in the different social strata. Lower-stratum females appear to be much less interested in sport than females in the other social strata. This statistically significant difference between the lower-class females and the upper- and middle-class females is shown in Table 50.

SES and Team Loyalties

SES was found to be an important determinant of the sport of the favorite team selected. Respondents who had no favorite sports team were significantly higher in SES

Table 50

Socioeconomic Differences Among Females According to Sports Fan Interest

SES	Degree of Self Identification as a Sports Fan			
	Very much	Somewhat	Not at all	N
Upper and Middle Classes	23	25	12	61
Lower Class	2	14	9	25

$X^2=9.29$ df=2 Significant at the .01 level.

Table 51

Socioeconomic Differences Among Females on the Sport of First Chosen Sports Hero

Sport of Chosen Hero	Female SES Upper Classes	 Middle Classes	 Lower Classes	N
Figure Skating	7	3	0	10
Hockey	6	9	7	22
Other	3	14	4	21
None	9	10	14	33
				(n=86)

$X^2=31.22$ df=6 Significant at .001 level.

than respondents who chose a hockey team (F=8.235, significant at the .001 level); and respondents who chose a football team as a favorite team were significantly higher in SES than respondents who chose a hockey team (F=6.293, significant at the .01 level).

SES and Sports Heroes

It was postulated that middle-class respondents would be more likely to select sports heroes than upper- or lower-class respondents (hypothesis G2). This was not the case, however, as there were no statistically significant differences between social classes as indicated by a stepwise discriminant analysis.

Middle- and lower-class female respondents chose hockey players most often as sports figures they admired. Upper-class females selected figure skaters most frequently. The differences among females on this question are statistically significant (Table 51).

Results Pertaining to the Relationship Between SES and Various Types of Sport Involvement

It was postulated that SES would be an important variable in determining the respondents' frequency of sports participation, frequency of attendance at sports events and frequency of sports conversations.

SES and Primary Sport Involvement

SES was the third most significant determinant of respondents' choises of a favorite sport, after sex and age. The F score for the inclusion of SES in the discriminant analysis was 3.759 which is significant at the .01 level. Upper-SES respondents tended to choose golf, swimming, skiing and tennis as their favorite participant sports, while lower-SES respondents selected baseball, hockey and football as their favorite participant sports.

SES was the second most powerful discriminator of frequency of sports participation after age (F = 4.803, significant at the .01 level). Those respondents who participated most frequently had a significantly higher SES than did respondents whose participation in sport was less frequent. This finding is in accord with hypothesis H1.

As seen in Table 52 the main breaking-point is between those who never participate in sport and those who participate with any greater frequency. Those who participate rarely, if at all, tend to be those of the lower SES background.

Socioeconomic differences in frequency of sports participation are most pronounced among female respondents. There is a marked drop in frequency of sports participation as social status is lower (Table 53).

SES and Secondary Sport Involvement

It was hypothesized (H2) that the frequency of attendance at sports events would be highest among the middle class. This anticipated relationship did not materialize; a stepwise discriminant analysis failed to uncover any significant differences between socioeconomic status and frequency

Table 52

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis Comparing Frequency of Sports Participation, by SES

Comparison of Frequency of Sports Participation Categories	F Ratio
Never/More than once a year Less than once a month	5.140
Never/More than once a month Less than once a week	35.288
Never/More than once a week Less than once a day	41.802
Never/At least once a day	56.214
More than once a week Less than once a day /At least once a day	5.189
More than once a year Less than once a month /At least once a day	10.648

All F scores are statistically significant at the .01 level.

Table 53

Socioeconomic Differences in Frequency of Female Sports Participation

SES	More than Once a Week	Less than Once a Week	N
Upper Class	19	6	(25)
Middle Class	19	17	(36)
Lower Class	10	15	(25)
			(n=86)

$X^2=6.00$ df=2 Significant at the .05 level.

of attendance at sports events.

Although the differences across the sample were not significant, there were some interesting differences between sexes and between social strata. These findings are displayed in Table 54.

No qualification was placed on the term "attendance at a sports event"; that is, it was not specifically an event where one pays to get in. The relatively high frequency of attendance for females is largely due to the age factor. Usually those in school attended sports events frequently enough to raise the attendance level for the entire subsample.

Middle-class male respondents were the most frequent attenders at sports events. This finding supports the postulations of both Loy (1966) and Stone (1969), who claimed that attendance at sports events would be the most pronounced among those in the middle class. The SES differences in this study across the sample were not of sufficient significance to be able to confirm the hypothesis which stated: The frequency of attendance at sports events will be highest among the middle-class respondents (H2). Although this hypothesis cannot be confirmed in this study, there is an indication in Table 54 that it may be true for males.

The favorite spectator sport of male respondents varies according to SES. Interest in football as a favorite spectator sport declined as social status was lower. The appeal of hockey, on the other hand, was highest among middle-

Table 54

Socioeconomic Differences in Frequency of Attendance at Sports Events

SES	Male	N	Female	N
Upper Class	48.1%	(27)	64.0%	(25)
Middle Class	72.8	(22)	55.6	(36)
Lower Class	53.6	(28)	50.0	(25)

and lower-class male respondents. This finding is mentioned as an observation because the differences only approach statistical significance at the .05 level.

There were some interesting differences between social classes in regard to whom they attended sports events with (Table 55).

The figures in Table 55 suggest that attendance at sports events with family members is highest among the upper class, and that there is a larger number of non-attenders at sports events among the lower class, particularly among the females. The differences between females are more pronounced than the differences between males, but when the chi-squares are pooled, as suggested by Blalock (1960), the differences are significant across the sample.

SES and Tertiary Sport Involvement

Respondents who read sport-oriented magazines frequently are of a higher SES than respondents who infrequently read about sports in magazines (F = 10.825, significant at .001 level). The same is true when examining the frequency of reading about sports in the newspaper. A statistically significant difference exists in the level of social class between respondents who read about sports in the newspaper more than once a week and respondents who read about sports in the newspaper less than once a week (F = 4.691, significant at .01 level). The higher the social status, the more they read about sport.

Table 55

Socioeconomic Differences Relating to Whom Respondents Attend Sports Events With

	Family	Friend	Don't Attend	N
Females				
Upper Class	13	8	4	25
Middle Class	13	20	3	36
Lower Class	3	13	9	25
	$X^2=15.10$	df=4	significant at .01 level	
Males				
Upper Class	10	16	1	27
Middle Class	5	15	2	22
Lower Class	7	15	7	29
	$X^2=7.50$	df=4	Did not reach significance at .05 level.	

Pooled X^2 for both of the tables = 22.60 df = 8 which is significant at .01 level.

Respondents were asked to record on a 5-point scale how satisfied or dissatisfied they were with the way sport is covered in the mass media (Q. 67). Table 56 relates SES to respondents' expressed degree of satisfaction with the way the mass media cover sport. Approximately two-thirds of the males in all SES categories state that they are satisfied with the mass media coverage of sport, while there is decreasing satisfaction among females as their social status is higher.

SES and Sports Conversations

SES was found to be the primary determinant of frequency of sports conversation. The respondents who discussed sport most often were of a higher social status than respondents who rarely discussed sport (F = 7.760, significant at .01 level). This finding is in disagreement with hypothesis H3 which stated that sports conversation would be most frequent among middle-class respondents. However, the sex variable is partly responsible for this finding: the hypothesis does hold if middle-class males are considered separately; it is the lower-class females who discussed sport less often (Table 57).

A similar result is evident when examining the frequency of sports conversations that take place in the home. Middle-class males and upper-class females are the respondents who discussed sport most often in this context. It is also noted, that more females than males in this sample talk about

Table 56

Socioeconomic Differences in the Degree of Satisfaction with Sports Coverage in the Mass Media

SES	% of Male and Female Respondents in each SES Category who are satisfied* with Mass Media Sports Coverage			
	Male %	N	Female %	N
Upper Class	63.0	17	56.0	14
Middle Class	68.2	14	69.4	25
Lower Class	69.0	20	84.0	21
		51		60
				(n=111)

* Satisfied here means those who were either "satisfied" or "highly satisfied" with the sports coverage in the mass media.

Table 57

Socioeconomic Differences in Frequency of Sports Conversation

SES	% of Male and Female Respondents in each SES Category who Say They Talk About Sport at Least Once a Day			
	Male %	N	Female %	N
Upper Class	54.3	16	72.0	18
Middle Class	68.2	15	47.2	17
Lower Class	51.7	15	28.0	7
		46		32
				(n=72)

sport in the home (Table 58).

Socioeconomic status also has a bearing on respondents' frequency of sports conversations with strangers. A stepwise discriminant analysis revealed that SES was the most important determinant in whether a respondent talked about sport with strangers (F = 5.587, significant at .01 level). A further breakdown of these differences shows that upper- and middle-class males talked about sport with strangers on occasion, while lower-class males and all classes of females rarely conversed about sport with strangers. These results are shown in Table 59.

INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG AND BETWEEN SPORT INVOLVEMENT MEASURES

The Spearman correlation coefficients presented in Table 60 indicate the degree of interrelatedness among the levels of sport involvement. There are significant relationships between primary and secondary involvement and between secondary and tertiary involvement but not between primary and tertiary involvement. It seems that respondents who participate in sport are not particularly concerned with following sport in any of the mass media except for TV, and conversely, that those who follow sport closely in newspapers, magazines and radio tend to be less participation-oriented.

Table 58

Socioeconomic Differences in Frequency of Sports Conversations within the Home

SES	% of Male and Female Respondents in each SES Category Who Say They Talk About Sport within the Home at Least Once a Day			
	Male %	N	Female %	N
Upper Class	29.6	8	56.0	14
Middle Class	40.9	9	33.3	12
Lower Class	20.7	6	28.0	7
		23		33
				(n=56)

Table 59

Socioeconomic Differences in Frequency of Sports Conversations with Strangers

SES	% of Male and Female Respondents in each SES Category Who Say They Talk About Sports with Strangers at Least Once a week Male %	N	Female %	N
Upper Class	29.6	8	12.0	3
Middle Class	27.3	6	11.1	4
Lower Class	3.4	1	4.0	1
		15		8
				(n=23)

Table 60

Spearman Intercorrelations among and between Sport Involvement Measures

		Q.18	Q.20	Q.23	Q.27	Q.47c	Q.47d	Q.54	Q.58	Q.61
Primary Involvement	Q.18	1.00								
	Q.20	.475	1.00							
Secondary Involvement	Q.23	.453	.274	1.00						
	Q.27	.255	.410	.423	1.00					
Tertiary Involvement	Q.47c	.442	.329	.469	.318	1.00				
	Q.47d	.446	.313	.545	.334	.788	1.00			
	Q.54	.300	.164*	.280	.214*	.332	.397	1.00		
	Q.58	.137*	.138	.239	.340	.235	.263	.154*	1.00	
	Q.61	.197*	.194	.253	.296	.350	.367	.260	.320	1.00

* These are the only correlation coefficients that are not statistically significant at the .01 level.

SUMMARY MEASURES FROM Table 60: Mean of Correlation Coefficients are
Primary & Secondary = .348 Primary & Tertiary = .266
Secondary & Tertiary = .328

RESULTS PERTAINING TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND SPORT ASSOCIATION

A number of hypotheses were advanced which predicted that respondents who were most aware of, and interested and involved in sport would be more socially integrated and less alienated than respondents who lack awareness, interest and involvement in sport. The three variables previously discussed in this study (sex, age, SES) were obviously independent variables, but in this section the relationships will be examined without implying direction.

Social Integration, Alienation and Sport Awareness

The expected relationships between sport saliency score and low alienation, and between sport saliency score and number of organizations belonged to, did not emerge. Thus hypothesis L1 dealing with the former relationship and hypothesis I1 dealing with the latter relationship were rejected. Neither alienation score, nor the number of organizations belonged to, were significantly related to sport saliency score as determined by a stepwise discriminant analysis.

Social Integration, Alienation and Sport Interest

Both, alienation score and number of organizations belonged to, were not significantly related to respondents self identification as sports fans, nor were these measures related to whether or not respondents had a favorite sports team. These findings are counter to hypotheses J1, J2 and M1, M2 which predicted that socially integrated, non-alienated respondents would be more likely to identify themselves as sports fans, and would be more likely to have a favorite sports team than would respondents who are less socially integrated and more alienated.

The degree of social integration, as measured by the number of organizations belonged to, was a statistically significant determinant of whether or not a respondent would have a sports hero. Respondents who selected a sports hero were more socially integrated than those who did not choose a sports hero (F score = 5.432, significant at .01 level). This finding is in agreement with hypothesis J3. There was not a significant relationship as determined by a stepwise discriminant analysis, however, between respondents who had a low level of alienation and those who selected a sports hero; therefore hypothesis M3 was rejected.

A low level of alienation was found to be significantly related to the selection of a hero type. Those respondents who selected a reinforcing sport hero were significantly less alienated than respondents who did not select a sports hero (F = 7.203, significant at .01 level).

Social Integration, Alienation and Primary Sport Involvement

It was hypothesized that the least alienated (N1), most socially integrated (K1) respondents would be the most

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frequent sports participants. These hypotheses were not borne out by a stepwise discriminant analysis as neither of these two variables were useful predictors of frequency of sports participation.

Social Integration, Alienation and Secondary Sport Involvement

Respondents who said they never attended sports events belonged to significantly fewer organizations than respondents in all other frequency-of-attendance categories (Table 61).

The figures in Table 61 lend confirmation to hypothesis K2, as those respondents who never attended sports events were the least socially integrated. The differences in level of social integration between the other frequency of attendance categories were not included in Table 61 because they were not statistically significant. Level of alienation proved not to be significantly related to frequency of attendance at sports events; therefore, hypothesis N2 was rejected.

Social Integration, Alienation and Tertiary Sport Involvement

The number of organizations belonged to was found to be the best discriminant, of those considered here, of how often respondents read about sports in magazines. The most frequent readers of sport in magazines belonged to significantly more organizations than did respondents who never read about sport in magazines (F = 14.387 , significant at .001 level). This was the only mass media category where either

Table 61

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis Comparing Frequency of Attendance at Sports Events, by Social Integration

Comparisons of Frequency-of-Attendance Categories	F Ratio
Never Attend/Less than once a year	6.806
Never Attend/More than once a year Less than once a month	19.436
Never Attend/More than once a month Less than once a week	22.264
Never Attend/At least once a week	22.396

All F scores statistically significant at .01 level.

number of organizations belonged to, or alienation score, was a determinant of frequency of utilization. There was not sufficient evidence to validate hypothesis K3 or hypothesis N3.

Social Integration, Alienation and Sports Conversations

Neither level of alienation nor level of social integration was significantly related to the overall frequency of sports conversation. This finding meant that hypotheses K4 and N4 were rejected.

These two variables, however, did relate to certain specific aspects of frequency of sports conversations: the location of the conversation and whom the conversation was with. Considering students only, the more frequent the sports conversation at school, the greater the number of organizations belonged to (F = 5.336, significant at .01 level). Similarly, among those employed, the more frequent the sports conversation at work, the less alienated the individual (F = 6.532, significant at .001 level), and the more socially integrated the individual (F = 3.639, significant at .01 level).

The number of organizations belonged to is also related to whether respondents talked to stangers about sport. The greater the number of organizations belonged to, the greater the likelihood of talking to strangers about sport (F = 2.938, significant at .01 level).

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

In this chapter we consider the findings presented in the previous chapter in greater depth, with attention directed toward their broader implications.

SPORT AWARENESS

Sport awareness was examined from three perspectives: (a) respondents definitions of the word sport; (b) types of activities that were listed as sports by respondents; and by (c) respondents' scores on a six-item sport saliency quiz. According to these three criteria, respondents seemed to be generally aware of sport. All respondents named at least one activity that they considered a sport; more than eighty per cent of the respondents answered the first four questions in the sport saliency quiz correctly; and only two respondents were unable to give a personal definition of the word sport.

Respondents' personal definitions of sport are a matter of interest. More than seventy per cent of the sample described sport as a physical activity. This would suggest that they did not think of sedentary activities like chess or bridge as being sports. There was also a substantial portion of the sample who viewed sport as a competition, and there was frequent mention of the pleasurable aspects of sport. The association of sport with pleasure is an indication that these respondents have not yet been caught up with the sport as a big business syndrome which Edwards' (1973) claims has taken much of the fun out of sport.

Football was mentioned most frequently as the activity respondents thought of when they heard the word sport. This is a bit surprising when one considers the tremendous enthusiasm and involvement in Edmonton Minor Hockey Week, and also in light of the general popularity of hockey in Canadian society as reflected in high TV ratings. Perhaps the reason for football getting more mentions than hockey relates to the fact that nearly fifty per cent of the respondents were in school at the time of the survey, and football is a scholastic sport whereas hockey is not. Baseball also ranks unexpectedly high, considering the unsuitable climate in Edmonton, and the fact that baseball has been criticized as being a sport that is too slow for the 1970's.

More than eighty per cent of the sample correctly answered the first four questions of the sport saliency quiz. These four questions dealt with identifying major national and local athletic teams. The last two questions asked respondents to identify sports personages from the Canadian sports scene. Only sixteen per cent of the sample knew that Don Jonas was the winner of the 1971 Schenley award in the Canadian Football League and 1.2 per cent knew that

Etienne Desmarteau of Montreal was Canada's first Olympic gold medal winner. These last two questions were obviously too difficult for all but the most dedicated sports followers. The high percentage of correct responses to the first four questions does indicate that the respondents are aware of the major sports teams. This mutual awareness of sport may help people to interact with one another. Sport may be the catalyst which starts people interacting. Through a knowledge of sport people can share similar experiences, which mobilize common feelings and emotions. Thus on this basis sport serves as the "icebreaker" which can draw people together who have not necessarily made previous acquaintance.

Sport awareness, in this study, simply refers to familiarity with, or knowledge about, the phenomenon of sport. Awareness does not necessarily imply that there is agreement amongst respondents about what is meant by sport. Awareness is, however, the first prerequisite for consensus, and cultural consensus is an important factor in social integration (Klapp, 1957). Sport, because of its universal nature, would seem to have potential as an institution that can generate consensus and thus social integration. Sport is thought to assist in developing consensus by carrying the values, beliefs, and attitudes that are held in common in a given society (Edwards, 1973).

SPORTS INTEREST

Respondents' interest in sport was evaluated in three ways: the degree to which respondents considered themselves to be sports fans; the extent to which individuals had sports team loyalties; and the extent to which respondents admired sports performers. Generally the respondents in this sample showed a fairly high level of interest in sport.

More than forty per cent of the respondents considered themselves to be very much a sports fan. There are no comparative figures that the writer is aware of, but it would seem that the percentage of those who consider themselves sports fans is moderately high--high enough to suggest that sport at least has the potential to serve as a mechanism of integration, by providing an interest that many people have in common.

The fact that more than eighty per cent of the respondents had at least one favorite sports team is further indication of the interest in sport shown by this sample. Football and hockey teams received the most mentions which is in accord with the fact that these are the two most highly publicized professional sports in Canada. Most respondents selected a team from within Canada, and often this was a team that represented the local community. This finding again suggests the integrative function of sport because people seem to rally around sports teams from their own country or community. This line of thinking is further supported by the reasons given for following favorite sports teams; the most prominent reason for choosing a favorite team was that it was either a home team or a Canadian team. The other major reason for following certain teams is related to the perceived excellence of the team or individual players on the team.

Nearly three-fourths of the sample listed at least one sports performer that they particularly admired. Most of the sports figures mentioned are Canadian male Caucasians who are primarily hockey players. All but one of the sports heroes chosen would be classified in Klapp's (1969) typology as reinforcing heroes.

Male sports figures are selected most frequently, primarily because they receive the most notoriety in the mass media; Canadian sports heroes, because they were the most familiar to respondents in this study; Caucasian athletes because there are not many Negro athletes in Canadian sport; and hockey players because hockey is widely considered to be Canada's national sport and nearly all of the top players are Canadian.[20] The predominance of reinforcing type heroes is probably related to the fact that sport is considered by most people as contributing to the solidarity of society; sports heroes, then, would be those athletes who are not only excellent performers but who also personify mainstream social values. Fisher (1927) buttresses this argument when he states:

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[20] Football players are chosen as sports heroes much less frequently than hockey players which perhaps points out respondents' preference for Canadian athletes. There are many Canadian football players, but it is the American "import" players who are given the most public attention.

> Those of you who are promoting sports in America are making the heroes of America. You are developing the heroic youth . . . . In order to develop character you must create the situation for securing the traits desired. Sport is rich in such situations . . . . They provide the training ground for creating the virile qualities necessary to our way of life (p. 94).

At the same time, however, there were also athletes of different races and nationalities among those mentioned as most admired. This is possibly due to the fact that if a respondent wished to emulate someone whom they considered to be an expert in sports other than winter sports (hockey, skiing, figure skating), and to some extent football, he or she must of necessity look outside of the country. For example, none of the world's best basketball or soccer players are Canadian.

Sports heroes were selected by respondents primarily for their high level of athletic ability. Despite the fact that respondents admired their athletic excellence, more than one-half of the respondents claimed there was no specific athlete they would like to be like. Typical of respondents' comments were: "I like the way I am now", and "I would rather be myself". This finding suggests that these informants have positive self-images and that they admire athletes for their physical skills, rather than for their personal attributes.

It may be that sports heroes are not the compelling role models they were once thought to be (Schwartz, 1971). That is; outstanding athletes are admired to the extent that the best in any line of endeavor are admired. The admiration may not be so intense that respondents live through their sports heroes as Klapp (1969) suggests, but rather it is a detached form of admiration. It is the difference between appreciation and emulation; respondents like what they see the athlete doing but they wouldn't necessarily want to trade places.

SPORT INVOLVEMENT

Three types of sport involvement were considered: primary, secondary and tertiary. Primary involvement was classified as actual sports participation; secondary involvement referred to watching sports events in person; and tertiary involvement referred both to the use of the mass media for sports information, and to conversations about sports.

Primary Sport Involvement

Sixty per cent of the sample claimed they liked participating in sport very much, and this percentage was congruent with the actual frequency of sports participation among respondents. These data show extremely high sports participation rates, in view of the recent Statistics Canada "Survey of Selected Leisure Time Activities" (1973), where only 13.1 per cent of the sample participated in sport at least once per week, and Robinson's (1970) study in the United States which showed that nineteen per cent of his sample participated at least once a week in a sports activity.

The main cause for this discrepancy between the findings in this study and those in other studies is probably due to the high percentage of adolescent respondents in this sample. There is usually a high positive correlation between frequency of sports participation and age. Also, many of the younger respondents were involved in compulsory physical education classes at school.

The high rate of sports participation in this sample may also signify that Edmontonians are more enthusiastic about sports than people from other areas of Canada. There is some support for this statement in the Statistics Canada (1973) study, in which Albertans were much above the national average in sports participation. Of the fifteen sports considered in the Statistics Canada study, Alberta is above the national average participation rates in twelve sports.

Four out of the first five favorite participant sports mentioned by these respondents were team sport activities, which again reflects the over-representation of adolescents in the sample. Younger people spend more time on team sports.

It was unexpected that baseball would receive the highest number of mentions as a participant sport, since baseball does not appear to be a particularly popular sport in Edmonton. However, these responses are not an accurate indication of the overall popularity of baseball, since many older respondents said that baseball was their favorite participant sport, yet these people only rarely participated in sport. They seemed to be thinking of baseball more as a recreational activity that one might engage in at a picnic, or they mentioned baseball because it had been their favorite sport when they used to participate more often.

Except for volleyball, sports mentioned less often as favorite participant sports are somewhat less vigorous individual activities, which reflect the interest primarily of females and older respondents.

Participation in sport is very often a communal event which brings families and friends together. This is further evidence of the integrative potential of sports, as nearly ninety per cent of this sample stated that when they participate in sport they always participate with someone.

Secondary Sport Involvement

A majority of the sample expressed a great deal of interest in watching sports events in person. Only eleven per cent said they were not interested at all in seeing a sports event in person. This high degree of expressed interest is manifested in the frequency of attendance at sports events, with 56.7 per cent of the sample saying they attended at least one sports event per month. The national average for attendance per month at paid sports events is

23.4 per cent, and for unpaid sports events it is 12.8 per cent (Statistics Canada "Survey of Selected Leisure Time Activities" 1973). No attempt was made in this study to distinguish between paid and unpaid attendance at sports events.

The high percentage of reported attendance at sports events in this sample can be accounted for by recognizing that a high percentage of this sample is under 20 years of age. According to the Statistics Canada "Survey of Selected Leisure Time Activities" (1973) data there is an inverse relationship between age and attendance at sports events. Also the Statistics Canada study was carried out in January and February when hockey is the only major sport in season. Had the same study been conducted in September and October attendance figures would likely have been higher; football would be in mid-season, baseball would be just finishing and hockey just starting.

Football and hockey are far and away the biggest sports attractions for this sample, as each of these sports was selected as favorite spectator sports at least five times as often as any other sports. In many other Canadian centers hockey might outrank football as a spectator attraction. In Edmonton the professional football team is the top sports draw because it has been established in the community for twenty-five years. The professional hockey team is only two years old, consequently it has not yet attracted a large following.

Football and hockey rank so high as favorite spectator sports because they are developed to relatively high levels of excellence, and in some cases it is possible to see some of the best players in the world in these sports in person. In the other sports mentioned, there are very few opportunities for Edmontonians to see the best performers in person.

Horse racing does not rate at all in the list of favorite spectator sports, yet it is frequently claimed by proponents of the sport that it is one of the most popular spectator events in North America. Horse racing also dominates the sports pages of most daily newspapers in the summer (Smith, 1973). In this study only one person said that horse racing was his favorite spectator sport. Perhaps this is an indication that newspapers should reassess the amount of space that is devoted to horse racing. This finding is perhaps biased to some degree because of the high percentage of young respondents in the study; however, even among adult respondents horse racing was not a favorite spectator sport.

Tertiary Sport Involvement

Television is the chief mass media source for sports information. Respondents reported that they watched an average of almost 3 hours of sports per week in the summer and 4 hours of sports per week in the winter. The "Wide World of Sports" show was rated the favorite sports show by more than one-third of the sample, primarily because of its wide variety of sporting activities. The majority of respondents who selected this show as their favorite were female. NHL hockey was the other television sports attraction which had a high rating. Part of the reason for the selection of "Wide World of Sport" and NHL hockey as favorite television sport spectacles is that they have long viewing seasons. Hockey runs twice a week for at least seven months, and "Wide World of Sports" runs once a week all year.

Approximately seventy per cent of the sample stated that they had no particular favorite radio or television sports announcer. Many respondents claimed that they did not recall the names of any of the sports announcers. Only two television sports broadcasters received significant mention, Bill Hewitt who broadcasts games of the Toronto Maple Leafs hockey team; and Howard Cosell, an American who is known for his commentary on "Wide World of Sport" and as the color man on "Monday Night Football", both of which are on the ABC network in the United States. Cosell gets considerable attention in the other media because he is controversial, yet he is not highly visible as a television broadcaster in Edmonton because the ABC network is not available here. Thus his rating is probably due to the spill-over effect from the other media.

Hewitt's popularity probably stems from his association with the Toronto Maple Leafs, which have long been the favorite hockey team of English-speaking Canadians.

Two local radio sports broadcasters, Bryan Hall and

Wes Montgomery, were the only radio personalities to receive more than a three per cent response rate. Hall was the most popular because respondents said they liked his voice and his style. Radio, however, was not a popular source of sports information.

More than sixty per cent of the sample reported reading about sports in magazines more than once a month, while under ten per cent of the sample stated they never read about sports in magazines.

There were at least two sub-groups who used magazines as a source of sports information. There was the committed sports fan who regularly read various sports periodicals for the purpose of keeping in close contact with sport, and there was the moderately interested sports fan who read about sport in mass-appeal magazines which often contain a sports feature. The respondents who are most interested in sport (as measured by Q. 15) are the ones who read Sports Illustrated and specialty sports magazines, while those who are less interested in sport rely on the sports coverage in magazines such as, Time, Weekend, Canadian, etc.

The most devoted sports fans in this sample considered Sports Illustrated as the staple of their sports reading diet. This magazine has a high percentage of American content; it very rarely runs a Canadian feature. Canadian readers of this magazine may get the view that the only worthwhile sporting ventures are those that occur in the United States.

This is not to be critical of Sports Illustrated; however, it may be suggested that a Canadian equivalent is needed to promote and record uniquely Canadian sporting traditions and achievements.

Almost one-half of the respondents reported they read about sports in the newspaper every day. This finding adds substance to the journalistic adage that the sports section is the most widely read section in the paper. Although nearly all respondents reported reading the sports section from time to time, only eleven per cent of the sample said they had a favorite sports writer.

The fact that so few respondents had a favorite sports writer may be an indication that people are primarily interested in the information being conveyed rather than in the disseminator of the information, or it may be that the copy of the local sports writers is simply not appealing to the majority of respondents in this study. The term "local sports writer" was emphasized because ninety-five per cent of the respondents said they obtained their newspaper sports information from the Edmonton Journal.

Stone (1958) in one of his earlier works suggests the idea that following sport in the mass media has a stabilizing effect for many people:

> The sports pages in the daily newspaper are important for many consumers primarily because they provide some confirmation that there is a continuity in the events and affairs of the larger society. A certain reassurance may be gained from following sporting news that is not possible from following current events, the continuity of which is not readily discernable (p. 89).

This continuity hypothesis may be somewhat less valid now than it was twenty years ago. Now there is a profusion of professional sports leagues, so many that only the dedicated sports fan keeps them straight. In addition, sport has been afflicted with a number of disturbing problems: for example, drugs, racism, and avaricious players and owners, which are helping to dampen the interest in sport. The frequent court battles illustrate that sport is no longer the trouble-free haven it once was. Baker (1974) aptly summarizes what may be the attitude of many formerly avid sport fans:

> I had simply had it with sports. I think the explanation is that there was just too much of it for any of it to be very engaging any more. It had gotten so that there was a new Game of the Century every other day. It was like having a banana split with every meal. It just quit being fun (p. 77).

Evaluation of the Mass Media as a Source of Sports Information

Only a few respondents said they were very satisfied or very dissatisfied with the coverage of sport in the mass media. In conversation with the respondents it appeared that this moderately satisfied position was composed of two separate dimensions. A precise count of opinions was not recorded, but the impression here is that respondents seemed for the most part quite satisfied with the amount and types of sport covered in the mass media. The few complaints in this area were: there is too much emphasis on American sports; too much emphasis on professional sports; and there should be more coverage of certain sports, for example, basketball. Aside from these criticisms respondents generally liked the fact that there was so much opportunity to gain sports information from the mass media.

On the other hand, there was considerable displeasure about the actual way in which the material was presented by the mass media. Frequent mention was made of partial announcers, inept writers and faulty camera work. However, despite what many respondents felt were flaws in the system, they still preferred the coverage the way it is now, rather than have less coverage.

The order of frequency with which respondents utilized the mass media for sports information was television, followed by newspapers, radio, magazines and books. This finding corresponds exactly with Robinson's (1970) data on how people used the mass media for sports information.

Television is the medium preferred most for sports information but it is only half as appealing as watching a sports event in person. Most of the sample used the mass media for sports information, but nearly one-half of the respondents said they preferred to attend a sports event in person.

The credibility of the mass media in their role as disseminators of sports information has been questioned frequently (McFarlane, 1956) (Parrish, 1972) (Barnes, 1972) (Smith, 1973). Apparently respondents in the present study had some doubts about the believability of the mass media in regard to the way it covers sport. It seems that credibility in a source of sports information is a function of how deeply involved a person is with the source. The most credible source of sports information is to see it for yourself, followed by talking with personal contacts, and television. The rest of the mass media all had fewer than five per cent of the responses.

Results were somewhat similar when the mass media were rated by respondents on eight different categories (Q.s 68-75) in terms of their effectiveness in communicating sports information. In seven of eight categories, television was rated the highest; personal contacts were second, followed in order by newspapers, magazines and radio. The personal contact category is difficult to interpret because it would depend on who the respondent's personal contacts are; how they are viewed in terms of their level of expertise and credibility, and how available these personal contacts are. Personal contacts could be very important sources of sports information if they are considered to be knowledgeable and credible.

Opinion Leadership and Sports Information

There seems to be a widely held belief that the mass media have a tremendous capacity to influence and persuade. It is common for physical educators to bemoan the fact that the mass media are having a negative effect on sport because they endorse harmful attitudes such as winning at all costs. It has never been demonstrated conclusively that the mass media do in reality possess this magic power. Katz and Lazarsfeld (1960) suggest that the mass media are less effective influencers than opinion leaders. In this survey respondents were asked whom they would consult if they were seeking sports information. Only twenty per cent said they would consult someone from the mass media, while more than forty per cent mentioned someone from their primary groups. Approximately the same percentage breakdown of responses resulted when respondents were asked who they thought was most believable as a source of sports information. Primary group members received nearly twice as many mentions as people from the mass media.

Perhaps the most convincing evidence that the mass medias' power to influence is overrated lies in the answers to question 80, which asked: "Who is the person who has influenced you most in your opinions on sports?" The mass media influenced only 6.7 per cent of the sample while primary group members were named as influencers by 59.1 per cent of the sample. This finding is in harmony with most opinion leader research, which states that the mass media are important sources of information but are not necessarily effective in influencing attitudes. Dr. R. DuWors (1973) recently reported a similar finding. When he asked national-calibre Canadian athletes what had influenced them to take up their sport, they invariably mentioned someone from their primary group. The effect of the mass media as influencers was negligible in that case.

Sports Conversations

One of Stone's major premises is that sport is a universal phenomenon which nearly everyone knows something about. Because sport has this universal quality it is often an appropriate subject to initiate conversations. If sport is the focal point for the conversation, sport can be viewed as a socio-cultural element which provides a common meeting ground, and thus can serve a social integration function. It has been mentioned previously that sport can assist in developing societal consensus, because sport is an institution which represents and exemplifies traditional social values and norms. Indeed, sport has been classified as a primary socializing vehicle for males in American society (Edwards, 1973).

The present study corroborates Stone's (1969) findings on the frequency of sports conversations; in fact the frequency in this study is higher than Stone's. This is probably due to the high percentage of adolescents in the sample.

Sports conversations apparently take place mainly in three locations: at home, and either at work or school, depending on the age of the respondent. Sports conversations occur less often in public places. This may be due to the reluctance of respondents to open conversations with strangers or it may mean simply that they do not appear in public places as often as other locations. There are some data to substantiate the former argument, in that only 27.5 per cent of the sample said they talk about sport in public places as often as once per week. When they talk about sport in public places it is not always with strangers, because only 14.1 per cent of the sample reported talking with strangers about sport as often as once per week. The bulk of the sports conversation took place with friends and families.

This evidence was counter to Stone's (1969) postulate that sport conversations provide access to anonymous members of society. Stone envisages sport as being a catalyst which leads strangers into interaction and which may provide the basis for an enduring relationship. The results of the present study show that sport has more of an effect on solidifying primary group relationships, than it does in bringing strangers together.

However, it should be noted that to determine whether sports conversations are truely integrating, a researcher would have to take into account what is actually being said, and how the participants react to what is said. Sport could just as easily serve as the focal point for an acrimonious discussion, thus producing hostility rather than harmony. Many females, especially golf widows and television football widows, seem to view sport as being a threat to the family unit. Consequently, sports conversations in these households could contribute to disunity.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS PERTAINING TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SEX AND VARIOUS WAYS OF ASSOCIATING WITH SPORT

Sex and Sport Awareness

Webb (1969) showed that as children grow older, male and female attitudes toward sport tend to diverge, with males coming to think of sport as a competition, and females viewing sport more in terms of cooperation. Sport thus serves a useful vehicle for socializing individuals into their future social roles.

Much of the recent literature dealing with the feminist movement has also stressed how women have been conditioned to become passive, accepting, docile human beings. Males in this study considered sport as a form of competition to a significantly greater extent than females. To some extent this finding lends credence to the belief that females are less competitive than males. This may be true, but it also may be situation specific; that is, the fact that females do not view sport in terms of competition to the same extent that males do, does not necessarily mean that females are less competitive in general. Conceivably it means that females are only less competitive in a sporting context. Females do compete frequently using different currency and for different prizes. For example, females compete using fashions, make-up and hair do's to attract male attention. So the playing down of competition for females in our society may be a way of preserving sport as a primarily male sanctuary. Tiger (1969) feels that sport is a way of establishing maleness and maintaining the male bond in our society. A high incidence of females in competitive sport may somehow endanger this function.

There are many recent incidents where males have tried to block female entry into sports. This resistance has not always been successful but often it takes court action to get results (Talamini, 1971). These situations, and the reaction of males to them, add further evidence to support Tiger's (1969) case.

Sex was not a significant variable in the determination of the type of activities thought of when respondents heard the word "sport". This is possibly due to the fact that respondents were not asked to state a preference, only to mention activities that they considered to be sports. Females then, like males, proceeded to list the most popular team sports.

The results of the sport saliency index show clearly that sport is more salient for males than females. As Gilbert and Williamson (1973) point out, the mass media deluge us with sports information about males; females consequently are less interested in sport as it is conveyed by the mass media.

Sport saliency in this study would be closely correlated to the amount of time a person uses mass media for sports information

Sex and Sport Interest

As predicted, females expressed much less interest in sport than males did. This is congruent with Robinson's (1970) finding which demonstrated that males showed great interest, while females ranked sport near the bottom of their hierarchy of interests. The rationale for this distinction between sexes in terms of their interest in sport is unclear; however, Edwards (1973) has a plausible explanation. According to Edwards, sport is an institution which has as its main functions, socialization and value maintainance. Sport, then, confirms traditional social values and beliefs:

> Sports events are unrehearsed, they involve exceptional performances in a situation characterized by a degree of uncertainty and a lack of total control, and they epitomize competition for scarce values--prestige, status, self adequacy and other socially relevant rewards. In his daily life pursuits, the fan also competes. In the economic realm for instance, interactions are unrehearsed; the individual cannot even hope to control all the factors which affect his outcomes; and most of all, interaction is characterized by intense competition for scarce valued goods and services (p. 243).

The factors mentioned in Edwards' quote have more relevancy and are more common to the everyday life of the average male than the average female. Our society is male dominated; and the fact that sport provides a fairly accurate representation of our societies values and beliefs may explain the male affinity for sport and the relative disinterest of females in sport.

Sex and Sport Team Loyalties

The number of team loyalties and the average length of team loyalties were higher for males, but the differences were not statistically significant. One possible reason why there was not more of a distinction between sexes on this dimension is that the strength of the team loyalty was not more precisely measured. Years of association with a team is one measure of strength but it does not indicate much about how the respondent is affected by the fortunes or misfortunes of his favorite team. Had this additional aspect of team loyalties been assessed, it is possible that larger differences between the sexes would have been exposed.

Female respondents selected a football team as a favorite team significantly more often than they chose a hockey team. The writer is unsure of how to interpret this finding other than to speculate that females are more frequent attenders at football games.

In Edmonton, attendance at professional football games is a major social event with upper and middle class husbands and wives usually attending the games together. Hockey games are less of a social event in Edmonton, partly because the current facility is old and dirty, and partly because hockey has the reputation of being a "stevedore sport". Females attending hockey games are more likely to devalue rather than enhance their social status. This explanation might account somewhat for the football preference of adult females, where the status of the sport is a factor. For adolescent females, on the other hand, preference for football teams is possibly related to the fact that football is a scholastic sport while hockey is not.

Football games and the related peripheral events like pep rallies are focal points of student interest in high schools. To some extent, being in the "in crowd" in high school is related to an interest and involvement with the schools athletic teams. The acceptance and understanding of football as a spectator sport for females may carry over into adult life, which may also help to explain the female predilection for selecting football rather than hockey teams as favorite teams.

Sex and Sport Heroes

Male respondents were much more likely to mention a sports figure they admired than were females. This again is probably due to the fact that most of the highly publicized athletes are male, and as Robinson (1970) has noted males are more attuned than females to the coverage of sport in the mass media.

The characteristics of the athletic heroes selected are often like those of the respondents. This concurs with Bandura's (1968) theory of social modelling. In nearly all cases males chose male sports heroes, and in many instances females picked female sports heroes. The fact that some females selected male sports heroes may be an indication that there are not many prominent female athletes around. This is the point made earlier by Gilbert and Williamson (1973) when they mentioned that their female informants could easily name ten famous male athletes, but none could name ten famous female athletes. The latter study was conducted in the United States, whereas conditions are somewhat different in Canada, in that females often fare much better in international competition than males. Consequently these females receive considerable attention in the mass media. This circumstance is reflected in the present study as the most frequently mentioned female sports heroes (Nancy Greene, Karen Magnusson, Elaine Tanner) all were acclaimed for winning in international sports events.

It was also observed in this study that males tended to choose American athletes as sports heroes significantly more often than females did. This indicates that males use the mass media for sports information more than females do and are thus aware of more American athletes, and as mentioned previously it may also indicate that if you exclude hockey players there is a dearth of male Canadian sports heroes to choose from. Females on the other hand, do not have to look outside of the country for their sports heroes as there is already a fairly large supply of them in Canada.

Males also talked more about their sports heroes than females did; this indicates the overall greater interest in sport of males and also the fact that males know more about their sports heroes because they use the mass media as a source of sports information more often than females do.

It is interesting to note that only six respondents (5 males, 1 female) chose sports heroes that could be placed in the seductive category. A seductive hero is someone who is in opposition to certain establishment values, and who frequently violates social rules. The fact that few respondents in this study chose seductive sports heroes may be an indication that they admired only those athletes who represented establishment values, or it may indicate a reluctance to mention these seductive people even if they really do admire them.

There is very little information available in the mass media about the personal lives of female athletes, consequently there are very few females who would be aware of female athletes who eschewed mainstream values. There may also be more of a moral stigma attached to the feminine endorsement of seductive role models. Females are seen as the protectors of morals in our society, it is usually the mother who counsels the children as to what is morally right and wrong. Also males in our society have a wider latitude of what constitutes acceptable behavior, for example, we speak of the "double standard" as it applies to male-female sexual behavior. This same double standard relates to the coverage of sports heroes. Famous male athletes have built their reputation on the fact that they drink, gamble and womanize frequently. Female athletes who engage in similar behavior would detract from their reputation, consequently even if this type of behavior does exist among female athletes it is played down by the mass media because it is thought to be improper behavior for females. So not only are male athletes themselves more likely to be considered for the seductive category, it also seems to be more acceptable in our society for males to idolize seductive role models.

Sex and Primary Sport Involvement

The frequency of female participation in sports activities was not significantly different from that of males. This finding is unexpected, and is likely due to the high percentage of young females in the sample. Even though one would not expect young females to be as active in sports as young males, if they are attending school they are probably enrolled in physical education classes.

There was a significant difference between sexes on their favorite types of participant sports. Females invariably chose socially approved, individual sport activities like tennis and swimming. Young males selected popular team sports like football and hockey, while older males opted for less strenuous sports like golf.

Females generally (but particularly upper class females) tended to participate with family members, while males participated more often with friends. This finding supports Stone's (1969) speculation that some females become involved in sport as a means of increasing the companionship in a marriage. These adult females may not be overly enthusiastic about sport but they will participate with their husbands as a way of binding the family closer together.

Irrespective of a person's motivation for participating in sport, when respondents do participate, it is almost always with someone else. The sports situation definitely draws people into social contact with one another and provides the opportunity for interaction. This coming together on common ground may help to satisfy affiliative needs and may in some ways help to produce social integration.

Sex and Secondary Sport Involvement

There were major differences between sexes on their choice of favorite spectator sports. Hockey watching was primarily a male activity, while figure skating spectators, among these respondents, were almost exclusively female. An obvious explanation for this is that hockey is a male-dominated sport and figure skating is thought of as a feminine activity. This simplified interpretation does not, however, explain the high percentage of females who reported that football was their favorite spectator sport. This seeming incongruity is likely related to the status of both football and hockey in this community. As previously noted, professional hockey in Edmonton appeals to a lower-status crowd than does professional football and hockey is frequently marked by player brawls. The stereotyped dainty, delicate, female supposedly abhors such public outbreaks of violence. Football is a violent sport too, but it has an intellectual dimension and the violence is somewhat camouflaged in that you are farther removed from the action and you cannot see the players faces.

Sex and Tertiary Sport Involvement

It was found that male respondents used television, radio, and newspapers for sports information significantly more often than female respondents did. This is not unexpected because these media cover sports events that are predominantly male-oriented. Thus there is a circular effect, wherein females get less encouragement than males to be involved in sport, consequently their sports performances are looked on as being unimportant or less worthy of attention. Thus female athletes are virtually excluded from the mass media. This cursory approach to female sports by the mass media in turn helps to discourage female involvement because there are not a sufficient number of female athletes to serve as role models for other female athletes to emulate.

There were also some differences in the reading and viewing habits of males and females with regard to sport. Females showed preference for lighter coverage of sport; that is, they had less interest in live contests and in reading specialty sports magazines. Again, this preference is probably related to the dearth of female sport coverage in the mass media.

Sex and Sport Conversations

With the weight of evidence showing that females were generally less interested in sport than males were, it was unusual to find that males and females did not differ significantly in their overall frequency of sports conversations. Stone (1969) reported fairly large differences between sexes in their frequency of sports conversation.

Most of the female sports conversation in this study took place in the family context. Thus frequent female involvement in a sports conversation may reflect not so much an intrinsic interest in sport, as a "pseudo-interest" which is adopted for the sake of the family stability. Earlier evidence showed that sport was less salient for females, which further supports the idea that much of the time when females talk about sport it is simply because this is what the males in the family want to talk about.

Another possibility in this regard, although it probably does not completely account for the differences between Stone's data and the present data, is the influence of the feminist movement's push for greater female involvement in sport. Stone's data were reported in 1969 but it was collected some ten years earlier. In the fifteen years since the collection of Stone's data there have been significant changes in the way that females associate with sport.

A number of previously existing barriers to female involvement in sport have been surmounted; more sports are open to females, budgets for female sports are larger, and there is even a modicum of sports coverage about females in the mass media. Although conditions for females are nowhere near equality with males, these recent changes have raised the status of female sports considerably. Perhaps these changes contribute to their tendency to discuss sport more frequently.

Sex and Opinion Leadership

In regard to opinion leadership, females were most influenced in their attitudes toward sport by family members, while males said they were most influenced by friends and coaches. This finding suggests that females have less confidence in the sport viewpoints of their friends than in those of family members (usually husbands, fathers, sons, brothers and uncles). Despite the fact that the feminist movement is pressing for changes in the females' sport involvement, females are still usually influenced in their opinions toward sport by a male. This is because there are still not too many females who would be perceived as being knowledgable in the sporting sphere. Males, on the other hand, consult other males to assist in the formation of their opinions on sport.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS PERTAINING TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND VARIOUS WAYS OF ASSOCIATING WITH SPORT

Age and Sport Awareness

There was some evidence in this study that sport was thought of by older respondents as a tension reliever or relaxer. This attitude seems to be manifested in the types of sports that older people participate in. Golf, curling and lawn bowling, for example, are less strenuous and often less competitive sports that draw participants from older age groups.

On the other hand, sport was more salient for younger respondents in this study. Perhaps this indicates that older respondents have more responsibilities and therefore have less time to devote to keeping up with the sports scene.

Age and Sport Interest

Younger respondents considered themselves to be sports fans to a significantly greater extent than older respondents. This corresponds to the earlier finding which showed younger respondents scoring higher on the sports saliency test. One possible explanation for this finding is that adults become more concerned with what they consider the serious aspects of life, like raising a family and making a living. Sport becomes an interesting but somewhat secondary diversion.

The preference for football teams as favorite teams of older respondents and the choice of hockey teams by younger respondents is difficult to interpret. Perhaps adolescents prefer hockey teams because their attention is directed to this sport by the profusion of minor league teams in this community. Also they know that Canadians predominate in this sport and if they have career aspirations in sport, hockey is a potential lucrative avenue open to them. There are also opportunities in Canadian football but Americans dominate this sport. There are fewer openings for Canadians in football and the salaries are generally much smaller than in hockey.

Older respondents may have favored football teams because football has been established longer (in a professional sense) in this community. Also older respondents may have become less interested in hockey since the professional leagues expanded. There is some evidence that the overall interest in hockey has dwindled because of the dilution of talent in the professional leagues, and because of the letdown following the Canada-Russia series (Kidd and McFarlane,1972). This dimunition of interest in hockey would be most noticeable among older respondents; younger respondents continue to be interested in hockey because they have nothing to compare with post-expansion hockey.

Age and Sport Heroes

Many people have certain sports figures that they particularly admire, but the phenomenon of "sports hero worship" seems to be most common among adolescents. Klapp (1969) highlights the differences in the importance of hero worship according to age:

> People of all ages use heroes in some way, but teenagers give us the sharpest, most sincere picture of the hero voyage of identity, because this is the age at which idealization is freshest and most impetuous--as parents are ceasing to be primary models and career choices have to be made and many grown up roles adopted in a hurry from the models available (p. 214).

The sports hero plays a major role in helping to bridge the gap between adolescence and adulthood. Adults have sports heroes too (witness aged wonders like Gordie Howe, George Blanda and Bobby Riggs), but adults may be just as likely to seek their identity voyages through role models whose occupations are more similar to their own.

Klapp's (1969) argument is reinforced by the data in this study as younger respondents chose sports heroes significantly more often than did older respondents

Age and Primary Sport Involvement

As anticipated, the results of this study show that age greatly affects primary sport involvement, with a gradual decrease in sports participation relating to increasing age. This finding parallels that of Robinson (1970) who examined leisure patterns in twelve different countries, and it also corresponds with the findings of the Statistics Canada "Survey of Leisure Activities" (1973).

The type of participant sport preferred is also related to age. Younger respondents in this study opted for strenuous team sports like hockey, football and basketball, while older respondents favored more relaxed pursuits like swimming and golf. Interestingly, the favorite participant sports of the older respondents reflects their definition of sport as being a relaxer or tension reliever. Older respondents also tended to participate in sports more with family members than with friends, while this situation is reversed for younger respondents.

This evidence underscores the importance of featuring lifetime and co-educational sports in physical education programs. Team sports have only temporary value for most people in terms of active participation. As people advance in age they lose the physical capabilities for many team sports, and there is always the difficulty of getting enough people together to play a game.

There are numerous individual athletic activities that can be enjoyed at an advanced age. Physical educators have started to recognize these patterns and have diminished their emphasis on team sports. Yet there are still a large number of people in the upper age brackets who have not been introduced to the concept of lifetime sports. The idea of the community-school is germane in this regard, because it is here where people who have missed previous opportunities could be taught the skills of various lifetime sports. There is no reason that sports participation rates have to drop off with advancing age; it is mostly a matter of education, instruction and provision of facilities.

Age and Secondary Sport Involvement

Frequency of attendance at sports events was also related to age. Both in this study, and in the Statistics Canada "Survey of Leisure Activities" (1973), attendance at sports events decreased with advancing age. This decline in interest probably reflects that dimunition in interest in sport mentioned earlier here, in connection with the fact that sport was found to be significantly more salient for younger respondents; as well as the fact that older respondents preferred watching sports events on television, rather than in person.

Age and Tertiary Sport Involvement

The relationship of age with tertiary sport involvement adds to the weight of evidence showing a reduced interest in sport with advancing age. The older the respondent, the less they read about sports in magazines and the less they talked about sport.

Why does sports involvement decrease with advancing age? There are no conclusive data on this subject; however, there is some interesting speculation. Adults have less time for sports than do adolescents; family relationships and occupational pursuits usually take precedence over leisure activities. During their working careers many adults relegate leisure time activities to a fairly low priority, then they find when they reach retirement age they cannot cope with the expanded free time. They are so accustomed to working that they have not learned to fulfill themselves in their leisure time. With no sports skills, no developed interest in sport and perhaps with a philosophy containing vestiges of the Protestant work ethic, there is a natural tendency to avoid or just not renew their interest in sport.

Age and Sports Conversations

The older the respondent, the less the tendency to talk about sports with friends. This difference is mostly attributable to the female segment of the sample. Older females tended to confine much of their sports conversation to the home. Younger females and all ages of males reported frequent sports conversations with friends.

Age and Opinion Leadership

Although primary group members were mentioned most frequently by all age groups as the person a respondent would consult if seeking sports information, there was a significant age difference between respondents who said they would consult a coach and those who favored consulting someone from the mass media. This finding suggests that the coach may have considerable influence over the sporting opinions of adolescents. Theoretically he or she is someone who is perceived as being knowledgeable and credible. This being the case, the coach would be in a position to help develop certain "desirable" attitudes toward sport and physical education. A positive outlook toward physical fitness, sportsmanship, team loyalty, and cooperation are examples of attitudes that are highly regarded by coaches and physical educators.

The fact that these highly revered attitudes are not always manifested in people's overt behavior may be an indication that physical educators and coaches are not doing their job in this regard. Perhaps they are not helping to develop positive attitudes or possibly the extent of their influence weakens over time. The latter point is likely more valid; as pointed out earlier in this section, older respondents often sought their sports information from a mass media member, and people in the mass media do not necessarily subscribe to the same sporting philosophies as do coaches or physical educators. This may account somewhat for the discrepancy between the attitudes and values expressed by coaches and physical educators and the reality of the situation, which is: an overall low level of physical fitness in our society; excessive competition, especially in children's sports; and a dominant ethic in sport which states that "winning isn't everything, it is the only thing" (Scott, 1973).

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS PERTAINING TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SES AND VARIOUS WAYS OF ASSOCIATING WITH SPORT

SES and Sport Awareness

Stone (1969) asked his respondents to list as many activities as they could think of when they heard the word "sport". Stone found that the higher the status level, the greater the number of activities that were mentioned. Stone attributed this finding mostly to a "difference of verbalization among the strata", rather than to a difference in their knowledge of sport. The number of activities mentioned by each social class was not measured in the present study; however, knowledge of sport, in the form of a sport saliency quiz, was measured. There were no significant differences between social strata on the scores from the sport saliency quiz. Perhaps the same dimension is not being measured in the two studies, but it may be that Stone's (1969) explanation has merit; that is there are no truly major differences among social strata in their sports knowledge, the difference in their scores is due to differences in verbalization skills.

Football and hockey were mentioned frequently by all social strata as activities they thought of when they heard the word "sport". The sport of basketball was mentioned almost exclusively by upper-class respondents. It is interesting to note that this is counter to basketball's status in the United States, where it is referred to as the "game of the ghetto" (Axthelm, 1970). Basketball is one of the few sports that can be played easily in crowded urban neighborhoods, and it is a sport that requires very little equipment. Many urban centers in the United States provide large numbers of outdoor courts in the inner city communities, hoping to keep the adolescents occupied, and possibly hoping to defuse or at least curb the incidence of anti social behavior. Most Canadian cities do not provide suitable outdoor basketball courts; perhaps it is because of the climate or possibly it is thought that youngsters physical needs are adequately provided for in other sports facilities. Nevertheless if a person in Canada wants to concentrate on basketball they are almost forced to erect their own outdoor facility. Traditionally basketball hoops are attached to garages, and there is usually a paved driveway to allow for scrimmaging. People who live in houses with garages and paved driveways and who can afford a basketball and a backboard would usually come from the middle and upper strata of society. There seems at least face validity for this speculation in Edmonton where one sees a much greater number of backboards on garages in the upper-class residential areas than one does in the lower-class neighborhoods.

The listing of baseball by lower-stratum respondents corresponds to Stone's (1969) findings, but the fact that track and field was also frequently mentioned by lower-stratum informants in this study is difficult to explain.

It is possible that lower-stratum respondents think of track and field when they think of the word sport, because it is a relatively inexpensive sport to be involved in.

SES and Sport Interest

There was insufficient evidence on this question to support Loy's (1966) contention that the middle class would have the greatest interest in sport. Loy felt that the middle class, being highly ritualistic in a Mertonian sense, would be most inclined to an interest in sport, because sport seems to exemplify middle-class values. There was a tendency for middle-and upper-strata respondents to rate themselves higher as sports fans than lower-stratum informants, but the differences were not statistically significant.

There was also insufficient evidence in this case to support Edward's (1973) theory that interest in sport is related to the individual's involvement in instrumental pursuits. Edward's maintains that upper- and middle-class persons pursue more instrumental forms of competition and are more goal-oriented than persons from the lower social stratum. Consequently, since sport also contains these elements to a high degree, upper- and middle-class persons should have more of an interest in sport. The data indicate a trend in this direction but it is not statistically significant.

In terms of both Loy's and Edward's speculations it would appear that either sampling bias affected the result or that their theories need restating. Although the present sample is biased to some extent, the writer is inclined to suggest that the theories be modified slightly. Rather than specifying middle class as Loy (1966) does, the theory should be expanded to include the upper class as well, and rather than speaking of the middle and upper class in general, it should be restricted to upper- and middle-class males. Further evidence will be presented later in this section which upholds these suggested revisions in previous theories.

SES and Sports Team Loyalties

Respondents from the upper class chose football teams as favorite teams most often, while lower-class respondents selected hockey teams most frequently. Petrie (1970) found a similar result; in his study football was the spectator sport that was most identified with the upper class.

Why do upper-class respondents form team loyalties with football teams and lower-class respondents with hockey teams? It has been suggested elsewhere in this study that the upper class may prefer football as a favorite sport because of its complexity; because it is a sport that symbolizes the capitalist ethic; and because they had previous acquaintance with football in scholastic institutions. Lower-class respondents may prefer hockey teams as favorite teams because the game is relatively easy to understand; and because they can identify with the players, most of whom are from lower- and lower-middle-class origins.

All of these explanations doubtless have some validity, but the key to this difference is probably tied to the tradition of those sports in the Edmonton community. In Edmonton, hockey has had more of an association with the lower class because the games are played in an antiquated facility. In Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, where hockey tickets are a status symbol to some degree and where the games are played in clean, attractive surroundings, there is a large upper-class following.

Validity for this interpretation is furnished by Stone (1970), who found that in the Minneapolis community hockey was favored by the upper class, the reason being that hockey was primarily a university sport in that city. It would be interesting to conduct the same survey in Minneapolis now that there are two professional teams in the community. One suspects there would now be more of a homogeneity of interest in hockey among the social strata.

SES and Sports Heroes

Despite these differences in choices of favorite sports teams, all classes of male respondents chose hockey players most frequently as the sports figures they admired. One might well ask the question: Why do upper class males prefer football teams as favorite teams, yet choose hockey players as the athletes they most admire? There are no conclusive data to support this propostition but perhaps the answer lies in the rationale given for choosing specific sports figures. Overwhelmingly the most common reason for selecting a certain sports figure was talent or excellence. An upper-class respondent may prefer the sport of Canadian football, but he likely realizes that in general there are better football players in the American professional leagues, and perhaps he does not have sufficient interest in these leagues to be able to single out a particular player whom he admires. On the other hand, the hockey players in the major professional leagues are well publicized in Canada, and they are generally regarded as being among the very best in the world. Therefore, if excellence is the chief criterion for selecting sports heroes, the respondent may choose a sports hero from other than his favorite sport.

The selection of sports heroes by females is interesting. More than one-half of the lower-class females do not have sports heroes. This is a further reinforcement of the theory that lower-class females tend to be divorced from an interest in sport.

It is curious that middle-and lower-class female respondents selected sports figures primarily from the sport of hockey. This is curious because hockey ranks quite low as a sport that has appeal for females. Why then would females select heroes from a sport that does not particularly interest them? The most likely explanation is that the females who select hockey players as sports heroes are being influenced in their choice by opinion leaders; most likely male friends or male family members. Middle-and lower-class males are the most avid hockey followers, and it is quite possible that some of this interest in hockey is picked up by the females. The data relating to opinion leadership in this survey seem to concur with this interpretation.

SES and Primary Sport Involvement

Upper-class respondents participated in sports significantly more often than lower-class respondents. This result is in accord with Stone's (1969) data which showed upper-class informants to be significantly more inclined toward participant sports than either of the other two social strata. The participant sports favored by upper-class respondents are the same as those mentioned by Stone (1969). Golf and tennis were preferred participant sports by upper-class respondents in both studies. In addition, skiing and swimming were selected as favorite participant sports by upper-class respondents in the present study.

Golf and tennis have often been labelled "country club" sports, the inference being that possession of money or social standing was required to become involved in these sports. Both of these sports have a long history of being associated with royalty and the upper social strata. Today these sports are more available for mass participation, but as the results of this study demonstrate, they are still primarily of interest to the upper social strata.

Skiing is another sport that requires large amounts of money to be involved in, thus precluding participation by people in the lower socioeconomic stratum. There is the expensive equipment, the travel to and accommodation at ski resorts, the lift tickets and the competition to be in fashion at the apres-ski scene.

Swimming is a favorite participant sport for upper-class females; males and lower-class females rarely mentioned swimming as a favorite participant sport. To some extent this finding is substantiated in DuWor's (1973) survey where top Canadian athletes comprised the sample. Of all the female participant sports studied, synchronized swimming was represented by the highest percentage of athletes from the upper social stratum. There does not appear to be any immediate logical explanation as to why swimming is a preferred participant sport for upper-class females.

The higher frequency of sports participation among the upper class is the result of a combination of factors. One of the main factors is the association of the upper class with the development of the whole man philosophy. For the ancient Greeks leisure time was an unearned hereditary privilege. The continued existence of the leisure ideal for the aristocracy in ancient Greece was dependent on slave labor, for it was felt that work was below the dignity of the free-born Greek. The ancient Greeks strove for the quality they called "arete" exemplifying an ideal of human perfection which united mind and body. Arete referred to both physical and mental development. This whole-man concept has been a part of western cultural tradition up to the present day. The elite schools and universities in North America have fostered the idea of a liberal education; inherent in this philosophy is the idea of "well roundedness" and the creative use of leisure time.

It has been primarily the upper class that has had the opportunity for a liberal education. Part of this education has been an exposure to a variety of ways of seeking self-fulfillment through leisure activities. Sports and games have often been included among these types of activities. Therefore, the upper class generally has been presented with more alternative ways of filling their leisure time than have the other social strata.

In addition to being exposed to this philosophy of "well roundedness", the upper class has had the financial wherewithal to develop and maintain certain exclusive sports. Private golf and tennis clubs are often the only facilities of the kind available in some communities and they are restricted to the upper class. There has been some democratization of sports like these in recent years but there is still the upper class aura surrounding these sports. Private clubs which are built around a sport orientation serve other useful purposes for the upper class; business men use the sports setting to socialize and to negotiate business deals, while the family uses the sport setting as an opportunity to cultivate family togetherness.

There is also Edwards' (1973) point that has been alluded to earlier in this section: that members of the middle and upper class have more sport involvement because they are more goal-oriented and more engaged in instrumental pursuits in their daily life. Edwards (1973) suggests that this goal-striving behavior carries over from other areas of their lives to the sports setting.

Both Loy (1966) and Stone (1970) have suggested that attendance at sports events will be most frequent among the middle class. The rationale here might be that upper-class people would rather participate, while lower class people are just generally less interested in sport. There is also the point made by Loy (1966) that the middle class is the most conformist in its adaptation to society, and because the major spectator sports purportedly express dominant social values it is assumed that the middle class would be most attuned to these spectator sports.

To some degree this theory is supported in the present study. It is not the middle class in general who most frequently attend sports events, it is predominantly the middle-class males. Perhaps Loy's (1966) and Stone's (1970) hypotheses should be changed to refer specifically to males.

Loy's (1966) theory of middle-class involvement in sport may need further explication. In addition to reinforcing dominant social values, sport may serve the purpose of enhancing or at least appearing to enhance self-worth. In modern society many middle-class males are employed in large organizations and as a consequence they often have very little opportunity to make important decisions concerning the operations of these organizations. Sport provides an outlet in this regard, because everyone can be a "Monday-morning quarterback". The sporting sphere may be one of relatively few social contexts where the typical middle-class male's judgements and opinions are taken seriously. There is some indication in this study that their sporting opinions do carry weight at least among their own family group. This explanation is perhaps further substantiated by the high incidence of gambling on sports events among the middle class (Newsweek, 1972). Part of the motivation for gambling on sports events is that it gives the bettor an opportunity to express his opinion publically. This opinion then has added significance because of the financial risk involved.

Edwards (1973) suggests a tentative hypothesis to explain the differences in sport-spectating habits among American males:

> The more aggressive the sport (not counting pseudosports such as commercial wrestling and roller derby) the greater should be the proportion of middle class to lower class clientele (p. 270).

The basis for this speculation is that the middle class, being in the mainstream of American life, is highly goal-oriented and upward striving. Thus they can relate more strongly to aggressive sports like football. Lower-class males have a tendency to be more passive, resigned to their fate, as it were, and they would identify more with sports like baseball.

The above theory does not fit with the present data, although it is rather difficult in Edmonton to identify with baseball. The respondents in this sample showed a predilection for selecting local or Canadian teams and the only baseball team of note in this category is the Montreal Expos, who have somewhat of a negative connotation in Edmonton in that they are from Eastern Canada.

Edwards' (1973) theory does not seem to apply here because the two most frequently mentioned favorite sports were football and hockey, both of which are highly aggressive contact sports. Upper-class respondents favored football as a spectator sport, while middle-and lower-class respondents expressed more interest in hockey.

The differences between respondents who like football and those who like hockey have been alluded to earlier in this chapter. The reader will recall that older respondents preferred football while younger respondents preferred hockey, and that females chose football significantly more often than hockey. In each instance an explanation was offered to assist in interpreting the findings. In this case, where SES is the independent variable, a number of plausible reasons for this finding are suggested: (a) Football has a tradition of being identified with higher education in Canada whereas hockey does not. Nearly all professional football players have at least attended college or university, most hockey players have not. There are educational differences between socioeconomic levels, and perhaps the spectators find it easier to identify with athletes who are in some ways similar to themselves. (b) There is also the intellectual dimension to football which hockey lacks. This is not to imply that one requires a preponderance of gray matter to understand football, only that the strategies are more complex than in hockey. Perhaps it is the violent chess aspect of football that attracts the upper class to football and the free-wheeling spontaneity of hockey which appeals to the middle and lower classes. (c) Finally there is the idea suggested by Hoch (1972) and Meggyesy (1970) that football serves as a symbolic representation of capitalism. The acquisition of territory in football relates to the acquiring and consolidating of wealth in society. Also the survival-of-the-fittest ethic of football may be somewhat applicable to society. If this theory is of value one would expect that those people who are making it in a capitalist society would be the same ones who would support a sport like football, while those who are not thriving in the society would be less interested in a sport like football.

Socioeconomic status is related to whom respondents attend sports events with. Both males and females in the upper class attend sports events with family members to a greater degree than do respondents from the other social strata. This is a further indication of the validity of Stone's (1969) findings that sport involvement helps to increase family cohesion in the upper stratum, but on the other hand, sport serves to insulate the sexes from one another in the lower stratum.

SES and Tertiary Sport Involvement

Social status was found to be significantly related to the frequency of reading about sport in both newspapers and magazines. The higher the social status of respondents the more often they read about sports. This may partially reflect the degree of interest in sport but it may also suggest that the upper class just reads more in general.

All classes of male respondents reported that they were generally satisfied with the way that sport is covered in the mass media. Female respondents differed on this point according to social status; lower-class females were most satisfied with the present coverage, while upper-class female respondents were least satisfied. Obviously the needs of the lower-class female respondents are being met; they get the amount and type of sports coverage they want in the mass media. The lesser degree of satisfaction among upper-class female respondents may reflect their desire to have more coverage of sports like swimming or figure skating, because these are the favorite sports of upper-class females in this survey. On the other hand, however, it may be that upper-class females get their opinions on sport from sources other than the mass media. There is some evidence to suggest that the latter point has merit; 54.5 per cent of the upper-class female respondents said that family members had the most credibility as a source of sports information.

Sports conversations are carried out most frequently by respondents from the upper social class. This difference is mostly due to the fact that upper-class females talk about sport so frequently. Among males, middle-class respondents slightly outrank upper-class respondents in frequency of sports conversations. Upper-class females seem to use sport as a vehicle to help solidify the family unit because they talk about sport a great deal at home.

Aside from the family cohesion theory, it may be that these women simply have more highly developed verbal skills or that they converse more in general than the other social classes. Sport may merely be one of many topics that they discuss.

Loy's (1966) premise that middle class people will be the most likely to have a secondary and tertiary involvement in sport did not hold true in this study. The middle class was highly involved in these levels of sport but not significantly more than the upper class; also it is not the middle and upper classes in general who have this involvement in sport but primarily middle-and upper-class male respondents.

A plausible explanation for upper- and middle-class males' propensity for discussing sport, and it is borne out from other findings in this study, is that they talk more about sport because they read more about it, and they read more about it because they are more interested in it.

Only upper- and middle-class males said they talked about sport to any extent with strangers. This finding may demonstrate the fact that middle- and upper-class males have more business dealings that cause them to interact more with strangers. Lower-class males may possibly be more introverted and more socially isolated than males in other social classes, and as a result they very seldom converse at all with strangers.

The fact that all classes of females rarely talked about sport with strangers probably reflects the societal taboo against females talking at all with strangers.

THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPORT INVOLVEMENT MEASURES

It was somewhat unexpected to find that primary sport involvement was not closely related to certain types of tertiary sport involvement. Primary sport involvement was significantly related to the frequency of watching sport on TV, but not significantly related to the frequency of reading about sport in newspapers and magazines or to the frequency of listening to sport on the radio. This finding indicates that the active sports participants are only interested in watching other athletes perform rather than reading about or listening to their exploits. This may simply be a time factor, in that being involved in a primary way may preclude a more significant tertiary sport involvement.

The fact that a primary sport involvement is significantly related to the frequency of sport watched on television is supportive of one of the purported benefits of televised sport. It has been proposed that watching sports events on television may induce the viewer to become an active participant himself. It is not known whether watching sport on television actually influences a person to go out and participate in sport, but it is clear that watching sports on television does not seem to greatly inhibit sport participation.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS PERTAINING TO THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIAL INTEGRATION MEASURES AND VARIOUS WAYS OF ASSOCIATING WITH SPORT

Alienation, Social Integration and Sports Interest

There is only fragmentary evidence to support the hypothesis which claimed that non-alienated, socially integrated respondents would have the greatest interest in sport. Those respondents choosing sports heroes ranked significantly higher on social integration (as measured by number of organizations belonged to) than respondents who did not choose sports heroes. Klapp (1969) has stated that modern technological societies breed alienation, and produce identity problems for the common man. These identity problems are alleviated at least partially through hero worship. By following heroes, the individual can take an "identity voyage" and live vicariously through his hero. This practice of identifying with heroes need not be a sign of immaturity or individual weakness; it may even be necessary in industrial societies.

Hero worship itself can be a manifestation of social integration, particularly if the role model is a reinforcing hero (Klapp, 1969). The reinforcing hero epitomizes conformity, and the achievement of social goals through socially approved means. Therefore, the fact that in this study nearly all of the sports heroes chosen could be classified as reinforcing-type heroes, and the fact that the respondents who most often selected sports heroes were the most socially integrated, lends further plausibility to the idea that an involvement with icons of popular culture can be a measure of social integration or alienation (Nettler, 1955).

This line of thought is buttressed by evidence which showed that respondents who selected a reinforcing type of sports hero were significantly less alienated than respondents who did not chose any sports hero.

A serendipitous finding which should be noted is that females selecting sports heroes rated significantly lower on social integration than males selecting sports heroes. This finding contributes to the idea that the female sports follower is set apart from the crowd because of her different interests. The female who follows sport to the extent that she has sports heroes may be somewhat of a deviant in the feminine world.

There are several possible explanations for the lack of a relationship between various sport interest variables (degree of being a sports fan, and team sport loyalties) and non-alienation and social integration.

These postulated relationships were based primarily on the statements of Beisser (1967) and Stone (1970). In essence, their argument is that an interest in sport helps to relieve the alienation which characterizes modern industrial society by enabling individuals to share common interests. If this theory is correct one would suspect that the people who are the most alienated are the ones who would have the greatest interest in sport. If sport is an opiate assumably it would help narcotize those who need it the most. This is not the case in the present study, as the lower-class respondents were not the most interested in sport; they were, however, somewhat more alienated and less socially integrated than respondents from the higher social strata. This does not necessarily mean that sport is not a vehicle for social integration. Sport supposedly represents the established order and typifies "mainstream values", but some people are so alienated that they reject the system and since sport in essence is of the system they also reject sport. Sport may be of help in integrating those people who still have some faith in the social system.

Edwards (1973) sees sports fan enthusiasm emerging from the amelioration of strains which are prominent in achievement-oriented societies. Strain, according to Sutton et al. (1956, p. 334), results when there are "discrepancies between expectations and concrete outcomes". Since many people in our society perceive they are a part of an unjust system, whereby they feel they are not adequately rewarded for their true worth to society, to some extent they are subject to this strain.

If people are continually thwarted in their attempt to achieve the valued goods and services in society, even though they are employing legitimate means to achieve these ends, they may find other means more attractive. Merton (1957) describes it as innovating when people use unethical or unlawful behavior to achieve desired ends. Innovative behavior in this sense might be tempting for many people but it is still not tolerated in our society. Sport, then, may serve the purpose of helping people to refocus on the acceptable ways of striving for culturally approved goals. Edwards (1973) aptly summarizes the role that sport can play in helping to relieve this social strain:

> . . . the sports institution functions as a "value receptacle" for the society in general, and the activities pursued in this institution become

> microlevel demonstrations of the viability of "blueprints" prescribed for successful conduct in the larger society (p. 268).

It would appear then, that sport can help many people resolve the strain that they experience in society, but for those people who are highly alienated, sport would be of very little consolation. Typically, highly alienated people "retreat" from society, they are not interested in the cultural goals or in the socially approved ways of achieving these goals. If sport truly is a mirror of the larger society then highly alienated people would be retreating from sport as well as society.

In the same vein a further explanation for the greater sport fan enthusiasm among the middle and upper class may be applicable. An interest in sport may serve as a kind of post facto reinforcement for those people in the upper and middle class who have made it in the acheivement society. Their struggles in daily life are symbolized in athletic contests which serve as a reminder of their own success in society. The lower class are at least to some extent alienated from society and sport may reinforce this alienation by reminding them of their failures in a competitive system.

It should be pointed out that a lack of interest in sport does not necessarily mean that the respondent is alienated or not properly socially integrated. An interest in sport may be a good barometer of level of alienation or integration but it fails to account for numerous alternative ways in which people satisfy affiliative needs. Religious, political and cultural gatherings could easily serve the same purpose;

> . . .but although these diverse avenues are generally available, millions of people do not exhibit the intense enthusiasm over them that they expend upon sport (Edwards, 1973, p. 240).

Klapp (1972, p. 26) feels that the close involvement with strangers in crowds, such as at sporting events, can lead to "spurious we feelings and showing of sentiments". These feelings may be of some help in combatting alienation, but the feelings are ephemeral and no substitute for primary group relationships. In this case an interest in sport may not have the power to transcend alienating conditions which confront people in their daily lives.

In this survey there were few respondents that could be classified as highly alienated. The majority of the alienation scores clustered nearer the lower end of the scale. In this situation where it was difficult to get a reading on extreme levels of alienation and integration, it is quite possible that the alienation-social integration hypothesis did not receive a fair test.

The more radical opponents of sports big business orientation like Hoch (1972) and McMurty (1972) might interpret the lack of interest in sport on the part of alienated people as a demonstration that alienated people have come to see sport as more of a hinderance than a boon to their alienated condition. The gist of Hoch's (1972) argument is presented here:

> Sport . . . is a temporary fix which enables them (the masses) to function in an oppressive job environment, but it does nothing whatever to remove the causes of that oppression. In fact, it exhausts so much time, energy, conversation and thought that it pretty well ensures that the real problems will never even be discussed, much less solved (p. 23).

A good case in point for Hoch's argument occurred recently in Canada. The Canadian government spent considerable time early in 1974 introducing and debating a bill which would regulate the Americanization of Canadian football when at the same time the country was beset with the problems of inflation, unemployment and labor unrest. Perhaps sport does tend to mask the real problems in society.

Sport possibly takes on lesser significance for people when it is matched against more pressing concerns such as war, energy crises, pollution, racial inequality, organized crime and drug addiction. Although sport may be of some benefit in attenuating alienation in society, particularly on a short-term basis, it is probably of considerably less import than the pressures which confront people in their daily lives, and the problems that concern them.

There was no indication from this sample that the most alienated respondents viewed sport from this perspective. It is, however, an explanation that cannot be discounted.

Alienation, Social Integration and Sport Involvement

Neither alienation nor social integration were significant predictors of primary sport involvement. There was also not a significant relationship between these two variables and frequency of mass media use for sports information. These two variables did, however, significantly relate to the frequency of sports conversations at school and at work; and level of social integration related to the frequency of sports conversations with strangers.

The present data are insufficient to substantiate the theory that sport serves the function of social integration. On the one hand it is shown that sports helps to develop consensus; sport is a relatively salient phenomenon; sports team loyalties and sports hero worship are common; and the majority of respondents enjoy watching, reading, and listening to sport, and many respondents talk about sport frequently. On the other hand there is not a consistent relationship between various types of association with sport and either alienation or social integration as measured in this study.

We are left with the situation where sport appears to have integrative power because it provides a common interest for large numbers of people, yet those most interested in sport are no more or less alienated or socially integrated than respondents who are not interested in sport.

A possible explanation for this lack of a predicted association between a low level of alienation and a high level of sport involvement is due to the lack of a clear-cut separation of alienation and social integration scores in this study. Very few respondents could be classified as highly alienated. A further point, although it is only conjecture, is that given the high degree of sport association of one kind or another, maybe sport is already fulfilling its integrative function. Perhaps this involvement in sport is at least partially responsible for respondents' overall low alienation scores.

Hoch (1972) thinks that sport may be a "temporary fix", it may help attenuate feelings of alienation briefly but not on any permanent basis. Even if Hoch is correct in his assumption that sport does not lessen alienation permanently, sport still serves as a focal point for interaction and as such it has the capacity to integrate. Without sport, there are few if any other universals which could create an equivalent amount of social interaction.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Sport sociology literature is replete with references attesting to the social integration function of sport. These writings are primarily conjectural in nature, however, as there has been a paucity of empirical data to support this contention. The questions of foremost importance in this study were: Does sport really have a social integration function? If so, to what extent can it integrate, and how does this integration process take place? A number of hypotheses were tested in this study in an attempt to answer the foregoing questions. These hypotheses dealt primarily with predicting the relationship between various social factors (sex, age and SES) and various ways in which individuals associated with sport; in addition, predictions were made concerning the relationship between social integration measures (number of organizations belonged to, and alienation score) and certain types of individual sport association. The major findings in this regard are summarized here:

1. The independent variable sex was found to be a key factor in influencing the manner and the extent of an individual's association with sport. In terms of the category of sport awareness, males perceived sport to be a form of competition to a greater extent than female respondents did,

and males scored significantly higher on the sport saliency test than females did.

In the category of sport interest, males considered themselves to be sports fans to a greater extent than females did. There were no significant differences between the sexes in terms of the number of sports team loyalties they had, or in the length of time they followed these teams. Males and females did, however, differ according to the sport of their favorite team: males preferred hockey teams while females preferred football teams. Both males and females frequently selected sports heroes, but they differed in their choice of sports hero according to the sport, sex and nationality of the sports hero. Although there was no significant difference between males and females on their likelihood of selecting a sports hero, males did report that they talked more about their sports heroes than female respondents did.

There were no significant differences between the sexes on their frequency of sport participation; however, each sex preferred different participant sports: for the males it was hockey and football and for females basketball and swimming.

Concerning secondary sport involvement, there were no significant differences between males and females in their frequency of attendance at sports events, although there were differences between the sexes on the selection of their favorite spectator sport. Figure skating was a sport preferred by females, while hockey appealed primarily to the males in the sample.

In relation to tertiary sport involvement, males utilized television, radio and newspapers for sports information more frequently than did females. There were no significant differences between sexes in their overall frequency of sports conversation; however, females did talk less about sport with friends than did males. Females also derived their opinions on sport more from within the family group than did males.

2. The age of respondents was found to be a social factor which had an important bearing on how they associated with sport. In terms of the sport awareness section, older respondents defined sport more as a tension release than younger respondents did, and older respondents scored lower on the sport saliency measure than younger respondents did.

On the sport interest measures, younger respondents classified themselves as sports fans to a significantly greater extent than did older respondents; and younger respondents were more likely to have selected a sports hero than were older respondents.

The lower the age of the respondent, the greater was the frequency of sports participation. The favorite participant sport also varied with age; golf, swimming, and baseball were preferred by older respondents, while lower age respondents favored basketball, football and hockey. Older respondents were also less involved in sport in a secondary and tertiary way; attendance at sports events decreased with advancing age as did the frequency of watching sports events on television and the frequency of talking about sports with friends.

3. Several hypotheses were advanced concerning the effect that socioeconomic status might have on sport association. In the sport awareness section there were no significant differences between socioeconomic groups on their sport saliency scores.

In terms of sport interest, there were no significant differences between socioeconomic groups in the degree to which they considered themselves to be sports fans. Respondents who chose a football team as a favorite sports team were of a higher socioeconomic status than respondents who chose a hockey team. Socioeconomic status was not an important factor in whether or not a respondent selected a sports hero.

Participation in sports events increased as socioeconomic status rose, and upper socioeconomic status respondents tended to select golf, swimming, skiing and tennis as favorite participant sports, while lower socioeconomic status respondents had a preference for baseball, hockey and football.

There were no significant differences between socioeconomic groups in their frequency of attendance at sports events. There was, however, a strong positive relationship between being a member of the upper class and attendance at sports events with family members.

Respondents who said they read about sports frequently in newspapers and magazines were of higher SES than respondents who read about sport infrequently in the media. Sports conversations were most frequent among upper SES respondents. This difference was mostly attributed to the difference in frequency of sports conversations among female respondents. Females varied considerably according to socioeconomic status on their frequency of sports conversations, whereas socioeconomic status was not as great a factor in the frequency of male sports conversations.

4. Respondents' level of alienation and conversely their level of social integration were postulated as being important variables in influencing their association with sport. However, neither of these two variables was significantly related to the sport saliency measure, or to the degree that respondents considered themselves to be sports fans. The choice of a favorite sports team was not significantly related to either alienation or social integration; however, respondents who selected a reinforcing type of sports hero were significantly less alienated than respondents who did not select a sports hero.

The frequency of sport participation was not related to either alienation or social integration as measured in this study. Respondents who attended sports events frequently scored significantly higher on the social integration measure than respondents who rarely attended sports events.

Tertiary sport involvement was generally not related to alienation or social integration scores. In one instance, however, there was a close relationship between these variables and tertiary sport involvement. Respondents who said they read about sports frequently in magazines (both sport and general interest magazines) scored higher on the social integration measure than respondents who infrequently read about sports in magazines.

Concerning the various aspects of sport conversation; a high level of social integration was significantly related to the frequency of sports conversation in the school setting, and to the frequency of sports conversation with strangers. Finally, respondents who discussed sport frequently at work were less alienated and more socially integrated than respondents who rarely talked about sport at work.

CONCLUSIONS

This study should be viewed as an extension of previous work done by Stone (1969, 1970) and Loy (1966). The basic theoretical framework established by these scholars was utilized in this study, but in addition, important concepts like hero worship, opinion leadership and mass media influence were incorporated in an attempt to tie together various diverse aspects of sport sociology theory. Because so many variable relationships were explored in this study, it seems appropriate at this stage that the findings be integrated such that they can be interpreted in their broadest perspective, that is, in terms of their meaning for the overall society.

The central question of whether or not sport is a vehicle for social integration has not been answered definitively. Many of the people in the sample were aware of sport, were interested in sport and were involved in sport in one or more of the three sport involvement levels. This high level of association with sport among respondents suggests that sport has the potential to be socially integrative; however, there were no consistent relationships between the social integration measures and the various types of sport association. If sport can integrate, it would seem from the results of this study that its integrative capacity is somewhat limited. It seems that sport is useful in integrating younger males, from the middle and upper social strata, and that sport is not as useful in integrating older respondents generally, but particularly older females from the lower class.

Murchland (1971, p. 4) claims that "alienation is obvious in some segments of our society--among the poor . . . among women . . . and among the aged"; these were also the people in the present study who had the most limited association with sport. One wonders then, if there is any connection between their alienation and their lack of association with sport, or is their alienated condition due to other factors? It is likely that their lack of association with sport is a symptom of their alienation rather than a cause of it; if this is the case, can an association with sport be of assistance in dealienating or integrating these segments of society? The writer's speculation is that an association with sport can be of benefit in drawing these types of people closer to society.

Females who are interested in sport often share this interest with other family members, thus sport can serve as a common meeting ground which promotes family togetherness. It was found in this study that middle-and upper-class females frequently engaged in sporting activities with other family members.

Developers of retirement communities have lately begun to recognize the importance of including sports and games facilities in their projects. Recreation centers and golf courses often form the hub of retirement communities and usually they are the central point for all of the community social activities. Retirement communities, however, cater primarily to elderly people in the middle and upper class, the elderly lower class is generally excluded. The elderly poor are often found "in furnished rooms, in public projects, on run-down farms, or in the decaying houses they couldn't sell" (Kendall, 1971). It seems that sport would have a negligible effect in integrating the elderly, lower-class people in society.

Young, lower-class people could be integrated into society through an association with sport. Schafer (1969) has shown that participation on athletic teams is a deterrent to delinquency for young males of blue-collar background. Numerous studies have demonstrated that sport can be an avenue of social mobility for young males with outstanding athletic ability. Very often the sports hero is an appealing role model who helps to raise the individual's aspiration level. If sport does increase an individual's social status, it is assumed that the individual will be more socially integrated than before because of his greater access to society's benefits and rewards. There is also a dysfunctional aspect to this striving for social mobility through sport participation. There are only a finite number of positions available in the top echelons of athletics, yet, for all intents and purposes there are an infinite number of young athletes from all social classes seeking to fill these positions. Many aspiring professional athletes who fail to make the grade in sports are bereft of any marketable skills. Their concentration on sport was such that they neglected their education.

Edwards (1973) sees a professional sports career as such a longshot hope that he now advises young black males to forget about sport and to start focusing on professional careers like law, medicine and education. This is a less spectacular means of achieving social mobility, yet it probably is a more feasible way of moving ahead in society considering the very limited opportunities available in sport.

Although it is not always effective, sport can, under certain circumstances, assist in integrating Murchland's (1971) "alienated segments of society".

Let us turn now to a discussion of those people who are most closely associated with sport; generally, these are the younger males from middle-and upper-class backgrounds. Theoretically, because of their close association with sport, these types of people should be highly socially integrated. A key point to consider is whether sport integrates these people into society; or whether these people chose to associate with sport because they were already integrated. That is, does sport pre-select integrated people and exclude those who are non-integrated; or does sport have the capacity to integrate people who are non-integrated and increase the integration level of those who are already integrated? This is only conjecture but it seems there is a circular relationship between association with sport and social integration. There may be a tendency for integrated people to gravitate to sport, but once they are associated with sport, their social integration is reinforced; and for those who are non-integrated, sport can increase their level of integration.

When it is said that an association with sport is related to social integration, this is true only in a limited sense. The association with sport serves mostly to cement primary group relationships, rather than, as Stone (1969) suggests, in the sense that a knowledge of sport can penetrate the barriers of anonymity that characterize modern society. The results from this study showed that when respondents were involved with sport, it was almost always with someone else, and these other people were usually family or friends. This does not imply that Stone (1969) was erroneous in assuming that sport could be a topic which leads strangers into interaction; the implication is that sport's role as a social integrator in this sense is somewhat restricted. Respondents in this study rarely participated in sports with strangers, and only occasionally did they converse with strangers about sport.

A number of theories have been developed which attempt to explain the popularity of sport in our society. Elias and Dunning (1970) believe that sport is popular because it satisfies our "quest for excitement". The essence of their thesis is that everyone needs to release tension, and as a consequence some time must be devoted to the affective component of people's lives. With the decline of interest in festivals, celebrations, and holidays there are not too many opportunities for people to dissipate their excess tension. Beisser (1967) along with Elias and Dunning (1970) believes that sport has helped to fill this void. Sport is now the counterpart ritual and ceremony to the commemorative holidays and celebrations of the past.

Hoch (1972) proposes the theory that sport in capitalist countries is an opiate which distracts the underprivileged and keeps them from confronting the source of their alienation.

There is also the theory espoused by both Stone (1957) and Toffler (1971) which suggests that sport has the primary function of bringing continuity to people's personal lives.

Doubtless to say, all three of these aforementioned theories have some degree of validity; however, the data from the present study suggest that these theories are incomplete. All of these theories fail to explain why certain segments of society associate with sport more than others. One would be hard pressed to justify the assertion that only younger males from the middle and upper class need to satisfy their affective needs. Sport may satisfy this need for this particular group, but does this mean that females, older people and people from the lower class do not have a need to release tension; or does it mean that these people get this release in ways other than sport? Obviously the people who do not associate with sport need to seek excitement just like everyone else, but one can only speculate on where they might find their excitement. Perhaps in movies, TV, concerts, live theatre, alcohol, drugs, or even sex: it is difficult to say for certain.

The "quest for excitement" theory may help to explain what motivates some people to associate with sport, but it fails to account for the motivations of those who choose not to associate with sport.

Hoch's (1972) "opiate of the masses" argument is challenged by the results of the present study, in that sport was of less concern to those people who stood to gain the most from drastic social change. Following Hoch's (1972) logic one would expect to find the greatest association with sport among the most oppressed members of society, theoretically these people would be most in need of an opiate. In this study the opposite was true, the people who were closest to the mainstream of society were those who had the closest association with sport.

The continuity hypothesis also encounters difficulty in accounting for people who are not associated with sport; does this mean continuity is not important to these people, or does it mean they get continuity in their personal lives by other means? There is also the point expressed earlier in the study, that the once tranquil world of sport is now experiencing its own lack of continuity. With expansion and dissolution of leagues, with player strikes, player raiding and the resultant court battles, there is as much entropy in the sports world as there is in any other sphere of society.

The theory which appears to best explain the present data is the one proposed by Edwards (1973). This theory has been mentioned throughout the study, but it will be briefly outlined again here: "The greater the individual's involvement in instrumental pursuits, the greater should be his interest in sport" (p. 246). Instrumental pursuits refer to activities such as the establishment and maintainance of security, leadership and control. These functions are most often performed in our society by males, particularly males from the middle and upper social classes.

According to Edwards (1973), sport is an apt metaphor of the broader society because it

> . . . reinforces the societal values of hard work, discipline, good character, mental alertness, hard but honest competition, the "American way of life" and so forth. Its [sport] performance is evidence that the system is still capable and viable . . . .

Edwards' explanation of sport association does not necessarily counter the theories presented earlier. That is, those people who do associate with sport may do it because they are seeking excitement, or because they require continuity and orderliness in their lives. Edwards' theory provides a rationale for explaining why certain segments of society have an affinity for sport while other segments of society do not. The other theories attempt to account for the various motivating factors which differentiate between people who already are associated with sport.

There is another possible explanation for the popularity of sport among middle and upper-class males. Today's society is characterized by transience and rootlessness, especially among the middle and upper classes. In an effort to get ahead in their occupation, people constantly move from city to city and within cities as well. Packard (1971) says that all of this moving from place to place creates a "nation of strangers". Beisser (1967) states that this frequent uprooting causes personal disruption which is manifested in the individual's need to identify with something; often this something is an athletic team. People who relocate frequently have difficulty in establishing neighborhood ties; these people can, however, develop an attachment to the community through their identification with the athletic teams that represent their community.

Sports heroes may not be the valued, integration-promoting symbols they were once thought to be. In this study sports heroes were of primary interest to younger respondents. This finding suggests that the current practice of using sports heroes to assist in political campaigns, and the practice of using sports heroes in testimonial advertising, be reassessed. The rationale for this suggestion is as follows: Older people have less interest in sports heroes, yet they are the people who vote in elections; it seems unlikely that an athletic star's endorsement of a politician would influence their voting preference. Indeed, the opposite effect may occur; there is some question about the athlete's credibility when he or she becomes the spokesman on issues where they are seen as having little expertise. Many voters may see the use of sports heroes by politicians as a transparent ploy to gain votes; seen in this light, the politician who uses sports heroes in his campaign may lose more votes than he gains.

Similarly, the use of sports heroes in advertising is of dubious value except in a very restricted sense. Sports heroes generally should only advertise sports-related products that are aimed at the youth market. The athlete would be an attractive role model for this age group, and he would likely be perceived as being credible because he is dealing in his own area of expertise.

Time magazine (1973) has recently suggested that certain types of sports heroes may have utility in advertising products that are intended for the middle-aged market. The athletes who fit this category were reinforcing heroes, of longstanding popularity. In addition to their recognizability, these athletes must be perceived as being sincere and trustworthy. It helps if the athlete has common or even homely physical features; the more closely he approximates the common man, the greater is his value in advertising. The athletes singled out by Time magazine as being best suited for this type of advertising were former baseball greats Stan Musial and Yogi Berra.

The mass media were used frequently by most people in this study as a source of sports information; however, it is not known whether the use of the mass media in this way contributes to or detracts from an individual's social integration. The role of the mass media as a social integrator is paradoxical, theoretically the mass media provide common information which makes people available to one another and allows them to interact. On the other hand, the form of the mass media (the actual device, i.e., the TV set, the radio, and so forth) actually restricts interaction and thus reduces prospects for social integration. It is true that people need the mass media for sports information so that they will have something to talk about. It is also true, however, that constant use of a medium for sports information can threaten family unity (Stumbo, 1971). It would seem that the mass media have more of a social integration capacity if they are used in moderation.

The mass media may not have nearly the influence that many people think they have. It may be that they are used as sources of sports information, but that they have limited ability to persuade. This view is supported in this study by the fact that the mass media were invariably ranked below primary group sources as influencers of opinions on sport. This idea is further substantiated by the fact that so few respondents could or would name favorite sports journalists or broadcasters. In most cases they could not think of their names, or they just did not think that any of the sports journalists or broadcasters that they knew deserved to be singled out.

In summary, it is suggested that sport does have a social integrative function in our society. The social integration capacity of sport is, however, restricted to the extent that sport is a social institution that generally has more significance for males, for the young and for members of the middle and upper social strata.

IMPLICATIONS

This study attempted to analyze sport's role as a vehicle of social integration. Sampling imperfections were such that the findings cannot be widely generalized. The results of this study and some of the methods used in the study can, however, serve as a point of departure for future studies which hopefully will yield greater insight into the role of sport as a social integrator. The results of the present study suggest a number of implications for physical educators, sport sociologists and mass media administrators:

1. This study confirms the sexist nature of the institution of sport. In most cases it is the males who are the most aware of and most interested and involved in sports. It can be expected that very soon females will exert pressure to redress this imbalance. Females will expect equal opportunities, equal budgets and equal coaching. If this happens there is a possibility that there will be a reduced emphasis

on big-budget, male-oriented sports. If additional funds are not available to incorporate expanded female programs, then it would seem that one solution would be to cut back on existing sports programs. Sports like football in high school, and football and hockey in university would appear to be most threatened.

2. This study points out the importance of focusing on lifetime sports in high school physical education programs. If sport is to fulfill its integrative function it must be made available to all segments of the society. If people are taught the skills, and if facilities are opened to them, there is no reason why an association with sport should decrease with advancing age. Elderly people in our society tend to be aliented; an association with sport is one way of reducing this alienation.

3. There are several implications which are pertinent to the mass media coverage of sport:

   a) Most of the mass media ranked very low on credibility as sources of sports information. It is true that these responses only reflect respondents' perception of credibility, and that it may have little to do with the media's presentation of actual facts. This may be an indication, however, that the mass media are suspected of ignoring or distorting the truth in their dissemination of sports information. Many authors have suggested that the public does not always get the truth from sports journalists and broadcasters because these media people are too closely connected to sports promoters (McFarlane, 1956) (Hoch, 1972)(Smith, 1973). The Federal Communications Commission in the United States is currently investigating this situation as there is some suggestion that sports broadcasters are violating the "fairness doctrine".

b) A more comprehensive coverage of female athletics in the mass media would seem to be indicated. The superficial treatment of female athletes in the mass media helps to discourage female participants; also it probably reduces circulation and ratings in the mass media by virtually excluding one-half of the population in their sports coverage. This means the mass media are quite conceivably limiting their revenue potential.

c) The assumption that televised sport leads to a decrease in sports participation is seriously questioned in this study. There was a statistically significant correlation between the frequency of sports participation and the frequency of watching sports on television. This finding does not prove that sports on television stimulates participation in sport; it does, however, indicate that televised sport does not greatly restrict sports participation.

d) Many of the respondents in this sample who considered themselves to be sports fans relied heavily on Sports Illustrated magazine as a source of sports information. This is an American-based magazine which only rarely features Canadian-oriented sports stories. Perhaps a Canadian equivalent of Sports Illustrated is needed to chronicle the uniquely Canadian sports scene.

e) The mass media in general, but particulary newspapers, place a great deal of emphasis on the coverage of horse racing. The results of this study indicate that this coverage be reduced. Only one person in the sample listed horse racing as a favorite sport.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It is recommended that a follow-up study be undertaken, on a greater scale. A study including the extremes of both alienation and social integration would provide a fairer test of the sport-as-a-vehicle-for-social-integration thesis. Also this future study should attempt to verify Edwards' (1973) hypothesis pertaining the relationship between a person's interest in sport and his degree of involvement in instrumental pursuits. There is support for Edwards' hypothesis in this

study, but further research is required to determine its validity

2. The postulations of both Stone (1969, 1970) and Loy (1966) undergirded this study. Although some of their suppositions were confirmed by the present data (for example, that sport is primarily of interest to males from the middle and upper social strata), a few of them were not (for example, that sport is a powerful social integrator because it breaks down the barriers of anonymity in urban society, and that an interest in spectator sports would be most prominent among the middle class). Further study is required before it can be positively established that sport has a major function as a social integrator.

3. A suggestion for future research in this area would be to conduct a longitudinal study in which community residents are interviewed before, during, and after, a major sports event. For example, it might be possible to determine the integrative effects, or the lack of same, of the Commonwealth Games in the City of Edmonton. This type of study would also provide some data on the duration of social integration that is supposedly generated by large-scale sports events like the Commonwealth Games.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INITIAL CONTACT WITH ADULT RESPONDENTS

FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION
THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EDMONTON, ALBERTA, CANADA T6G 2H9

QUAECUMQUE VERA

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

June 12, 1972

Dear Sir:

I am conducting a research study as part of the Doctoral program in physical education at the University of Alberta. This research program is attempting to find out how people in Edmonton feel about sport. I am interested in your attitudes toward sport; what you like about it, and what you dislike about it.

In order to get this information, I would like to interview you sometime within the next two weeks. I will contact you beforehand to see if a suitable interview time can be arranged.

You are one of approximately 150 people in the city that have been chosen purely at random, your cooperation in this study would be greatly appreciated.

If you wish further information about this project, please call me at either of these numbers: Physical Education Department 432-3565; Home 434-8231

Sincerely,

GS/mm

Garry Smith

APPENDIX B

THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

SPORT ASSOCIATION

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Questionnaire No.________________________SES. No.________

2. City or town where you spent most of your life__________

3. Population_________________

4. How long have you lived in Edmonton?____________________

5. What is your favorite TV program?______________________

6. Why:____
____
____

7. Age__________

8. Sex M_____ F_____

9. Marital status_____
1. married; 2. single; 3. widowed; 4. divorced; 5. separated

10. Number of children____________

11. Occupation____________________

12. Father's occupation __________________

13. Number of years of education achieved--

a.	By self_________	By Father_______
	Technical_______ or University______	Technical_______ or University______

14. How satisfied are you with the following?

	Very Sat.				Very Diss.
a. Your neighborhood	_____ 1	_____	_____	_____	_____ 5
b. Your School	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Your Job	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

d. The City _____ _____ _____ _____ _____

e. The Country _____ _____ _____ _____ _____

f. Community Satisfaction Index ______________________________

15. Do you consider yourself to be a sports fan?

Very much_____ Somewhat_____ Not at all_____
1 2 3

16. What does the word "sport" mean to you?__________________

____

____

____

17. What kind of activities do you think of when you think of the word "sport"?______________________________________

____

____

____

18. Do you like participating in sport?

Very much_____ Somewhat_____ Not at all_____
1 2 3

19. What sport do you most like to participate in?__________

20. How often do you participate in sports activities?______

____

(Blue card)

21. When you do participate in sports activities, do you participate: Alone_____ or with someone_____?
1 2

22. When you do participate in sport with someone, who would this usually be? Friend_____ Family_____ Other_____
1 2 3

23. Do you like watching sports events?

Very much_____ Somewhat_____ Not at all_____
1 2 3

24. Which sport do you most like to watch?__________________

25. Do you prefer to watch this sport

on TV_____ or in person_____?
1 2

26. Why?____

____

27. How often do you go out to watch sporting activities?

____
(Blue card)

28. When you go out to watch a sporting event do you go:

Alone_____ or with someone_____?
1 2

29. When you do go out to watch sporting activities with someone else who is it usually with?

Close friend_____ Family_____ Acquaintances_____ Other_____
1 2 3 4

30. How often do you talk about sports?______________________
(Blue card)

31. How often do you talk about sports in the following situations? (Blue card)

a. School______________
b. Home______________
c. Work______________
d. Parties______________
e. Public places (bars, bus stops, etc.)__________
f. At sports events__________
g. Other____________________

32. How often do you discuss sport with (Blue card)

Friends_____ Family_____ Strangers_____ Other_____?

Do you have any favorite sports teams?

	Sport	Team	Length of time you have been a fan	Why you like this team
33.				
34.				
35.				

36. Which sport performer do you most admire?________________

37. Why?____

____

38. Where do you get most of your information about this person?________________________________

39. Can you think of another sports performer that you admire?________________

40. Why?____

____

41. If you were to be a particular sports performer, who would you like to be?________________________

42. Why?____

____

43. Do you ever talk about the sports performer you have just mentioned with your friends?________________

(Blue card)

Please rank in order from 1 to 7 the following sources of sports information according to:

	44. Which you use most	45. Which you like most	46. Which you believe most
a. TV			
b. Newspapers			
c. Radio			

d. Personal contacts ____________ ____________ ____________

e. magazines ____________ ____________ ____________

f. Attendance at sports events ____________ ____________ ____________

g. Books ____________ ____________ ____________

47. Approximately how many hours per week do you watch TV?

a. Summer______________

b. Winter______________

Sports on TV

c. Summer______________

d. Winter______________

48. Which sports program do you watch most frequently on TV?

____

49. Why?____

____

50. Which sports program do you like second best?_____________

____

51. Why?____

____

52. If you have one who is your favorite TV sports announcer?

____

53. Why?____

____

54. Approximately how many hours per week do you listen to sports on the radio?____

55. Which of the following types of radio sports shows do you prefer?

Sports news______ Game broadcasts______
1 2

Hot line of opinion______ Other______
3 4

56. If you have one, who is your favorite radio sports announcer?______________________________

57. Why?______________________________

____

58. How often do you read about sports in magazines?

____
(Blue card)

59. Which magazine do you prefer for sports coverage?

____

60. Why?______________________________

____

61. How often do you read about sports in a newspaper?

____
(Blue card)

62. Which newspaper do you usually get your sports information from?______________________________

63. Which newspaper do you prefer for sports coverage?

____

64. Why?______________________________

____

65. If you have one, who is your favorite sports writer?

____

66. Why?____

____

67. Generally, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way that sports is covered in the mass media?

Very satisfied_____ Satisfied_____ In between_____

Dissatisfied_____ Very dissatisfied_____

Concerning sports information, which of the following sources do you consider to be: (Rank your choice from one to five in each category)

	TV	Newspapers	Radio	Personal Contacts	Magazine
68. Most complete					
69. Most truthful					
70. Most important					
71. Most influencial					
72. Most educational					
73. Most difficult to acquire information from					
74. Most open or frank in its presentation					
75. The one you get most involved with					

76. If you were seeking general sports information, who is the person you would most likely consult?________________

77. Why would you consult this particular person? (Probe)

____

78. What one person would you believe, among those you have discussed sport with, or among those you have heard discuss sport?

Friend_____ Family_____ Coach or teacher_____
1 2 3
Media Person_____ Other_____
4 5

79. Why are you inclined to believe this person?_____________

____

____

80. Who is the person who has influenced you most in your opinion of sport?

Friend_____ Family_____ Coach or teacher_____
1 2 3
Media person_____ Other_____
4 5

81. Is there any person who frequently consults you for sports information? If so, who would this person be?

____

____

82. Have you been to a sporting event within the past six (6) months where you had to pay to get in?

Yes_____ No_____
1 2

83. If so, why did you decide to go?_____________________

____

84. How did you find out about this event?_________________

____

85. Do you know the name of Edmonton's professional football team? Yes_____ No_____
1 2

86. Do you know the name of Edmonton's junior hockey team?

Yes_____ No_____
1 2

87. Do you know the name of Canada's only major league baseball team? Yes_____ No_____
1 2

88. Do you know the name of Toronto's professional hockey team? Yes_____ No_____
1 2

89. Do you know who won the Schenley award in the C.F.L. in 1971? Yes_____ No_____
1 2

90. Do you know who was the first Canadian to win a gold medal in Olympic competition? Yes_____ No_____

Please respond to the statements in accord with the following categories.

"Strongly agree" means you completely agree with the statement; (SA)
"Agree" means you agree, but not completely; (A)
"Disagree" means you think the statement is mostly wrong; (D)
"Strongly disagree" means you think the statement is absolutely wrong. (SD)

91. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world. (I)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

92. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd like. (I)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

93. The end often justifies the means. (N)

(SA) (A) (D) (SD)

94. Most people today seldom feel lonely. (I)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

95. Sometimes I have the feeling people are using me. (P)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

96. People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on. (N)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

97. There is little or nothing I can do to prevent a major shooting war. (P)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

98. Everything is relative, and there just are not any definite rules to live by. (N)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

99. The world in which we live is basically a friendly place. (I)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

100. There are so many decisions that have to be made that sometimes I could just blow up. (P)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

101. The only thing that one can be sure of today is that one can be sure of nothing. (N)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

102. There are few dependable ties between people any more. (I)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

103. With so many religions nowadays, one doesn't really know which to believe. (N)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

104. We are so regimented today that there is not much room for choice even in personal matters. (P)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

105. The future looks very dismal. (P)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

106. People are just naturally friendly and helpful. (I)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

107. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life. (P)

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

108. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.

(SA)	(A)	(D)	(SD)
1	2	3	4

109. Powerlessness Rating_______________

110. Normlessness Rating________________

111. Isolation Rating____________________

112. Alienation Scale Rating___________

113. What is your religious affiliation?

Protestant_____	Catholic_____	Jewish_____	Other_____
1	2	3	4

No religious affiliation_______________
5

114. How many organizations do you belong to? This can be any kind of organization, for example, religious, professional, service, recreational.

____

APPENDIX C

CARD USED BY RESPONDENTS TO ASSIST IN DATA COLLECTION

BLUE CARD

Never--1

Less than once a year--2

Less than once a month but more than once a year--3

Less than once a week but more than once a month--4

Less than once a day but more than once a week--5

Once a day--6